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ABSTRACT

While many people think of folklore as part of the culture of rural, isolated, uneducated people, folklore has a much broader definition and can encompass all areas and be found among all people. Folklore tradition can include school fight songs, ghost stories, children's games, ethnic jokes, jump rope rhymes and family recipes, as well as quilting techniques, ballads, or tales. All of these types of folklore are discussed and illustrated in this lengthy manual. Although designed specifically for collecting folklore and folklife in Ohio, the manual would be of interest to anyone interested in American folklore. The first portion is devoted to folklore collection and discusses the equipment needed, ways to approach people, kinds of folklore that might be collected, and interview techniques. A chapter on how to set up a collection project describes field techniques, release forms, notations on circumstances surrounding each interview, transcription methods and analysis. Two chapters suggest the family and children as good places to begin collection because of the rich quantity of material available. Much of the manual is devoted to folklore already collected by both high school and college students. This collection includes chapters on the folklore of teenage and college students, occupations, the general population, rural and Appalachian people, African-Americans, and other ethnic groups, including the Mexican Americans and Italian-Americans. (DS)

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ED182102

Collecting Folklore and Folklife in Ohio

by

Patrick B. Mullen
and
Linna Funk Place

Summer Institute on the Folklore and Traditions of

Mexican-Americans, Black, and Appalachian People

Ohio State University, 1978

Ethnic Heritage Studies Program
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

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NOTE TO THE READER

Persons interested in Ohio folklore might want to join the Ohio Folklore Society. Membership dues (as of Spring, 1978) are $4.00 a year which includes a subscription to the _Journal of the Ohio Folklore Society_. Annual meetings are held in the Spring at various locations. Those wishing to join should send their dues to Hank Arbaugh, Secretary-Treasurer, Ohio Folklore Society, 3567 Medina Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43224; or contact the Society in care of the Department of English, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 43210.

For information on current folklore activities in the state (festivals, school programs, etc.) write Timothy Lloyd, Director, Traditional Arts Program, Ohio Foundation on the Arts, 630 South Third Street, Columbus, Ohio 43206.

A long-playing record of Ohio folk music is being produced by the Ohio Folklife Group, c/o Department of English, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 43210. The record contains fiddle dance tunes, banjo pieces, spirituals, string band music, and unaccompanied ballads gleaned from Library of Congress field recordings made in Ohio in the 1930's and 1940's.

List of Student Collectors

Names of collectors and informants have been omitted or changed to protect their anonymity. However, we wish to give credit to the following student collectors whose efforts made this manual possible:

Emily Abramowitz
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COLLECTING FOLKLORE AND FOLKLIFE IN OHIO

INTRODUCTION

Ohio is a state rich in many folk cultural heritages. In the northern part of the state many European ethnic groups have settled, bringing their folk costumes, dances, music and lore with them. In the southern part of the state there is a strong Appalachian folk culture with a continuous tradition stretching back to the early mountain settlers from England, Ireland and Scotland. Migration from Kentucky and West Virginia has brought Appalachian culture into Ohio's cities as well. Migrating from the south since before the Civil War, blacks have maintained Afro-American expressive culture in the state, especially in urban areas. Folklore also exists among the mainstream culture in Ohio, among occupational groups, among children, college students, the elderly, and even among the educated and affluent.

The folklore students at Ohio State University are always amazed at how much folklore they find in their own families and from their friends. This is usually because they have a misconception about what folklore is. Most people think of folklore as something from rural, isolated, uneducated people which is dying out. A folklorist has a much broader definition of it and finds folklore in all areas and among all people. Oral traditions continue to serve important functions for people today, and as long as this is true, folklore will continue to be a viable part of our culture.

Another misconception about folklore is that it is always negative or untrue. ("Oh, that's just folklore.") Folklore can be true or false and is often a combination of both.

In one sense folklore can be thought of as the traditional wisdom of the people. Proverbs contain concepts that we accept as fundamental to our way of life. "A penny saved is a penny earned." A folk recipe passed down from mother to daughter means a great deal within the family sense of tradition. The knowledge of traditional barn building was important to farmers in Ohio, and some traditional barns still stand in the state. Studying them can tell us something about an earlier way of life, suggest migration patterns, and give us a sense of heritage. Folklife is positive and continues to be positive. The study of folk cultures means delving into the past and also observing the present.

Ultimately, the most important result of studying folklore is an understanding of people. Folklore reflects the values and beliefs of our cultures; it indicates underlying social attitudes and behavior patterns. This is why folklore is an important source for the behavioral sciences: anthropology, sociology, and psychology. Through our folklore, we unconsciously reveal things about our culture and society. Children's games, for instance, reveal patterns of aggression and competition which are a part of our overall American society.

Folklore is also of interest to the humanities---modern languages, English, comparative literature and so forth---because folklore is also literature, folk poetry, ballads, tales. These can be studied for the beauty of their composition and for what they tell us about the creative process.

But folklore is not the property of university professors. It comes from the people and is a part of the people. The purpose of this manual is to stimulate interest in folklore and folklife among all people in the state. You do not have to have an academic background to be a good collector of folklore. The folklore is accessible, it is all around you, and it can tell you something about yourself, your neighbor, and about the man or woman across town whose culture differs widely from your own. Adults can collect folklore in their spare time. The elderly will find it a fascinating way to spend leisure time. School children can become excited about a project which relates directly to things they know firsthand.

Since this book emphasizes folklore as a product of people, it is organized and oriented toward folk groups and communities rather than toward the items of folklore. Instead of dividing the book into the various genres of folklore (proverbs, riddles, songs, crafts, cooking, dance, etc.), it is divided into some of the groups in Ohio who have strong traditions, but an attempt has been made to give examples of every genre of folklore in the process. Collecting experiences will be different for each individual, but examples of the authors' and their students' experiences are given in the hope that some basic methods and techniques will appear. Since the manual is not item-oriented as much information as possible is given about individual tradition bearers and the culture from which they come. The manual attempts to be a book of Ohio folklore and folk cultures as well as a collecting guide.

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CHAPTER I

SOME ADVICE ON COLLECTING

In order to collect folklore and folklife efficiently and effectively, you must prepare yourself in advance. Before you set foot out of the house, you have to consider some basic problems. First of all, what sort of equipment will you need? It is not absolutely essential to have a tape recorder, but it is certainly advisable. The availability of small inexpensive cassette recorders today makes them a valuable tool in the folklorist's field equipment. They are unobtrusive and easy to operate, and cassettes are available at discount stores and drugstores even in remote areas. It is possible to collect short items of folklore (superstitions, proverbs, short rhymes, etc.) by writing them down exactly as they are told, and you should carry a notebook and pencil with you at all times; but for longer items (tales, legends, songs,etc.) it is almost impossible to get them exactly as they are told without slowing down the natural pace of delivery.

Some unique individuals can remember everything in an interview even hours later, and a photographic memory is certainly the ideal way of collecting; but how many of us have this ability? Thus, the tape recorder is the best means of accurately taking down items of folklore, but the recorder must be used with care. Many people freeze up at the sight of a microphone and become so conscious of being recorded that they cannot relax and relate folklore freely. When you meet an informant for the first time, do not attempt to record him until you have established rapport and a relaxed atmosphere. Then be sure to ask his or her permission to record. With some people you may not need to record at all; they may not have many traditional items, or the ones they have may be short enough to write down. In that case, there is no need to take the recorder out.

Photographs are also a valuable part of a collection. Pictures of a storyteller in the middle of relating a tale reveal details of his or her style of delivery such as facial expressions and gestures. The same is true of a singer or musician. To fully understand crafts and material folk culture, photographs are essential. For instance, pictures are the best way to indicate traditional quilt patterns and colors. Besides taking photographs of the finished product, you should also show various stages in the process of crafts and folk art. If you are interested in folk architecture, you should have close-ups of construction detail as well as shots which show the overall design. Professional folklorists prefer 35 mm. equipment to obtain the sharpest image for possible duplication and publishing, but if you do not wish to invest large sums of money in photographic equipment, inexpensive cameras will suffice for your field work. Photography manuals are widely available for more information on cameras, film, lenses, and techniques.

After giving the problem of equipment consideration, there are still other areas of preparation which must be done before you set out. What are you looking for? What kinds of items of folklore can you expect to find? One way to find general answers to these questions is to do some background reading before you venture out into the field. We recommend that you read some general textbooks on folklore to familiarize yourself with the broad kinds of folklore in oral circulation in America. Two recent books for this purpose are Jan Brunvand's The Study of American Folklore (second edition, 1978) and Richard M. Dorson's Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, 1972. Other general textbooks are listed in the bibliography at the end of this chapter. These books contain examples of folklore and folklife as well as general approaches to the study of folklore.

Besides general reading, it is also advisable to read about the specific area or group in which you are interested. This would include not only folklore collections and studies, but also histories and social studies. Books and journals of a regional nature can usually be found through local libraries. For books on specific ethnic or racial groups see the bibliographies at the end of the appropriate chapters in this manual. The importance of reading such books as preparation is that they will give you the information which will make the folklore you collect more understandable to you. For instance, if you are collecting local legends, they can be understood better in relation to their historical context.

Now, say that you are adequately prepared ahead of time with the appropriate equipment and the appropriate knowledge for collecting, how do you approach people? We said earlier that before you "set foot out of the house" you need certain preparation; actually to begin collecting you do not even need to set foot out of your own house. You can collect folklore within your own family, from your friends, from the people with whom you work or go to school. In fact, if you have never collected folklore before, it is probably best to start at home or close to home. By collecting from people you know, you can develop your techniques of collecting in a relaxed, natural atmosphere before you venture out among strangers. You may wish to remain completely within the circle of your family and friends for collecting, and this has produced some excellent collection projects in the past from students. It all depends on your own personality and inclinations.

When you first begin to collect, it is best to be very broad in what kind of folklore you expect to collect. Early folk song scholars were so intent on collecting ballads that they overlooked other kinds of folksongs and tales, legends, proverbs, and crafts. Until recently most collectors concentrated on verbal lore and ignored material folk culture (crafts, quilting, folk architecture, etc.). In order to make sure that you do not miss anything important at first, keep your eyes open for any kind of traditions whether they be verbal, dance, games or material. As you collect you might want to concentrate on one particular kind of folklore or folklife, but you will be in a much better position to understand it if you have acquired a broader view of the folk culture from the beginning.

Many of the problems of methods and techniques of field collecting will be dealt with in the specific chapters which follow, but we can give some general pointers here. You will probably have poor results if you approach a person for the first time and ask for "some folklore." First of all his concept of folklore may not be the same as yours, and he may know many traditional items which he does not think of as folklore. This is where the background reading will come in handy. If you know the kinds of folklore usually associated with the group you are interviewing, then you can be more specific. But even here asking for a specific genre may not produce good results. For instance, if you ask a person for his superstitions, he may resent that term since it implies a negative value judgement. If you ask for folk beliefs, that may have no real meaning for him. The approach used by one of the authors with commercial fishermen is to ask for things which might cause bad luck on board a boat. "It's bad luck to bring a black suitcase on board." This is a response often obtained, and it is a traditional folk belief. Once a conversation had started in this areas it would lead to many other types of superstitions and beliefs. You might ask a farmer for "old weather signs" or "traditional means of planting" in order to get different kinds of folk belief.

Sometimes if this does not work, you can "prime" the person you are talking to by giving him or her one or two specific examples. For instance, if a farmer does not respond to the above queries, you might say, "I've heard that the moon has an effect on planting," and hopefully he would respond with some traditional moon lore. Or you could mention a specific weather sign such as "A halo around the moon is a sign of rain" in order to get the person to give more signs. This technique will work with other types of folklore as well. Telling a story or joke can bring out other narratives; singing a song might put the person you are collecting from in the mood to sing herself; or describing a particular quilting pattern might remind a woman of others she used to know.

We have found that before seeking specific items of folklore it is best to converse on a general level with an informant. This will accomplish several things. It will put the person at ease and also give you a better understanding of the character, personality and background of the person. This general conversation can be about many things, the person's business or occupation, his pastimes, the weather --- whatever seems appropriate and relaxing.

It is also important to tell the informant something about yourself. You should always explain what you are doing as a collector and why you are collecting. Information should not be taken from people under false pretenses. If you are collecting as part of a school project, then say so. If the materials you are collecting are to be placed in an archive then you should definitely tell your sources so that they can have a choice of contributing or not. Also, they should be given the right to remain anonymous if they do contribute. Explaining exactly what you are doing ahead of time is not only ethical, it is also a good way to alleviate people's suspicions so that they will more readily contribute their items of folklore. In collecting in many parts of the United States and from many different racial, ethnic, occupational and age groups, we have met only a few people who were too suspicious to let us interview them once we had clearly explained what we were doing and why. Most people were friendly and cooperative. Collecting folklore can be a very rewarding personal experience as well as a means of understanding cultures.

It is a good idea to talk to an informant more than once. Many times after one visit a person will think of many new items of folklore that he could not recall while you were there. A second visit one or two weeks later will often prove more fruitful than the first one. And, of course, if you find an especially good tradition bearer, you can continue to have productive interviews for years. The more times you see and talk to a particular person, the more you come to understand him or her and how folklore functions in his or her life.

Finding good informants is not accidental although luck plays some part in it. If you have a systematic approach to collecting, you are more likely to turn up good sources. For instance, when collecting extensively many folklorists carry index cards and jot down the name, address, and phone number of each person talked to. After talking to one person, always ask for the names of other people who might help. Thus, you will have an ever growing list of possible informants. This method is especially helpful in locating good storytellers since they tend to have a reputation within a particular community, and their names will continually recur as you interview different people.

To this point, we have been discussing the items of folklore to be collected, but it should be stressed that the items are only one aspect of what you are collecting; you must also get as much information as you can about the person being interviewed and also about the situation in which the item occurs and the person's attitude toward it. In other words, in order to understand an item of folklore, you must also determine the detailed context in which it exists. Contextual information means any facts which exist around an item of folklore which relate to it in some way. This includes personal information on the informant, facts about the background of the item itself, and the circumstances within which the item exists and under which it was collected.

You must try to obtain a personal history for every informant: date of birth, birthplace, education, religion, marital status, occupation, travels, ethnic background, etc. All of this personal information has a bearing on what kind of folklore the informant knows and how it operates in his or her life. Sometimes this sort of data is hard to obtain because people may be suspicious of your motives, but personal information is so important to the full meaning of folklore that it is essential to get as much of it as possible. An informant can remain anonymous if she wishes to, and this fact may convince a person to give more information since her name will not be attached to it.

After you have collected an item, you should try to find out certain facts about it. Where and when was it first heard or seen? Who was it learned from? In what context was it first heard or seen? Have other versions been heard or seen? Is the item believed to be true? How many times has it been repeated by the informant? Does it have a strong traditional existence or was it remembered with difficulty? If it involves performance, how often is it performed? If it involves belief and action, how often is it practiced? Only after finding out all of this data can you begin to understand the item completely.

Other kinds of contextual information are necessary, depending on the nature of the folklore. If you are collecting items of folklore which contain some belief element (superstition, weather sign, folk cure, legend, proverb), then you must determine the degree of belief. For instance, if you collect a common superstition such as "If you walk under a ladder, it's bad luck," it does not have much meaning unless you know if the person practices it. Perhaps he or she has simply heard it but totally rejects it in practice, or perhaps he or she would deny believing it but practice it anyway. You should ask a person if he or she practices a particular belief, but even better is to observe that person or get another's comments on his or her behavior. Kenneth Goldstein has worked out a convenient shorthand for indicating degree of belief (see collection project form at the end of this chapter).

The actual circumstances of an item of folklore are even more important when a performance is involved. If you are collecting a folk song or tale during a performance, then there are certain things you should note. You should describe in detail the manner of presentation of the performer---facial expressions, gestures, attitude toward the audience, remarks between songs or tales--all of this information is important to an understanding of the performer, his or her songs or tales, and the culture. You must also observe the audience--how do they respond to the songs or tales, what parts of the performance cause specific reactions--laughter, shouts, etc., are there any negative reactions? All of this information in important for any kind of folk performance, whether it be singing, playing instruments, dancing, or telling folk tales.

Another important area of contextual information is your own influence on the collecting. You should be aware what the circumstances of the collecting experience are. Are you a member of the group or are you considered an outsider? This will have a bearing on what you collect. Do your questions lead in a particular direction which might not reflect the person's own inclinations? Are you making negative judgements about items of folklore which might alienate your informant? These questions must be considered as you are collecting and noted for future reference.

The study of folklore, as has already been stated, concerns more than songs and tales---that is, the oral traditions. Material culture traditions, too, have increasingly become a major area of interest. Until very recently, material folk culture had been a largely neglected field of study within the discipline. Henry Glassie's _Patterns in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States_, (1968), was one of the first major works to offer a large scale analysis of house and barn types, tools, outbuildings, and some craft traditions.

Ironically, field research in material culture is often an easier, though sometimes physically more arduous, task for the beginning folklorist than is the study of oral traditions. According to Richard Dorson, "The questions that concern the student of material culture" are "how men and women in tradition-oriented societies build their homes, make their clothes, prepare their food, farm and fish, process the earth's bounty, fashion their tools and implements, and design their furniture and utensils..." (Dorson, Folklore and Folklife, p. 2.) The folklorist in Ohio has ample opportunity to study all these areas. Why is the Pennsylvania bank barn so prevalent in the southern part of the state, while the English style is more popular in the north? What are the recipes and traditions surrounding the preparation of apple butter, still a popular delicacy with people of German background. Is the bagel maker in Cleveland truly a folk cook? What can we learn from a study of the distinctive "plain style" of dress of the Amish in the southeastern part of the state? As with oral traditions, material culture study is not directed exclusively toward the past, although many of the traditions have succumbed to the impact of modern technology. There are still people who quilt and weave, who make furniture and musical instruments using traditional tools and techniques, who process their own food.

The researcher must be concerned with what happens to these traditions when confronted by the popular or mainstream culture---what adaptations and changes have been made? With the current renewal of interest in craft traditions and simpler lifestyles, other considerations are also important. Has the craftsman learned his techniques in a traditional manner through oral transmission, observation and imitation---or through formal schooling? What are the inspirations for his design, who constitutes his audience?

Material culture is traditional and tends to fall into general categories, patterns, types, or, to use Glassie's term, "forms." So we talk about the "I-house" being a popular type of domestic dwelling carried westward from the south and middle Atlantic states. Often such a house will have appendages and modifications that might make it indiscernable at first glance, but when the floor plan is studied we can see that the basic, traditional pattern has been followed. When looking at our region of the country, Glassie noted that "north of the Ohio the patterns are not neat." (Glassie, Patterns in Material Culture, 1968 edition, p. 154) However, it is still possible to see several broad streams of influence into the region that have affected the material culture traditions--- in particular the migrations from Pennsylvania (Pennsylvania-German influence being especially strong) and the Northeast. Speaking very broadly, the Pennsylvania Germans tended to settle the southern part of the state, while New Englanders moved into the northern regions. There are, of course, many exceptions. Seneca County, especially the town of Tiffin, has a large German-Catholic population; not far south of Tiffin, near New Riegal, is an Amish settlement. Thus the careful student of material culture must consider the individual object or structure--its particular folk heritage--as well as the broader context in which it might be placed.

Certainly one of the most important skills to develop when studying the material culture of an area is learning how to look. What the tape recorder is to the collection of oral traditions, the camera is to the careful study of material culture. Again, the same kind of advice holds true---a 35mm. is great, but an inexpensive model will usually give good service. A sketch pad can also be useful. As with oral traditions, the researcher of material culture must make careful records---both written and pictorical---giving a description of the object, structure, or building and as much of its history and origins as possible. It is necessary to ask questions of the object as well as any informant who might be available. What materials were used, what are the dimensions, the shape, the overall design? Is it possible to determine what tools and local resources were used? Does it follow a certain pattern, one that seems to be evident elsewhere in the region? What oral traditions, beliefs surround the object and its preparation and use? Are you talking with a craftsman? How did he learn his skills;

what tools does he use; has he made changes in techniques over time? How does he view his product? For whom is he making it? All this information must be documented; in the appendix is a form very similar to that used for oral traditions.

What follows in the next chapters is by no means an exhaustive study of material culture in Ohio. Rather, examples are given as suggestions of what can be found. In some cases, detailed descriptions are offered as a means of pointing up the kinds of questions and considerations a researcher must apply to each situation.

Now that you have collected this extensive amount of information, whether for oral or material traditions, how do you organize it into some form which can be used more easily by you or other researchers? The form we use at Ohio State has evolved out of the basic form used at Indiana University, the University of California at Berkeley and other universities which have large folklore archives. It permits the inclusion of the item of folklore plus all pertinent informant and contextual information. If more collectors in Ohio use this form, then someday it may be possible to catalog and cross-index the various collections around the state.

This first chapter should give you a general idea of how to start collecting. The following chapters will give more concrete examples of what to look for in collecting from specific groups.

FOLKLORE COLLECTION PROJECT FORM

As the following outline is designed to properly organize fieldwork techniques, to increase understanding of the folklore collected, and to facilitate future use, it should be followed as closely as possible. The project will be graded according to how completely and how well the following instructions are followed.

I. General Instructions and Controlling Data

1. The collection is to be typed on 8½" by 11" white paper. Each item and each page should be numbered. Use a loose-leaf form; do not bind the collection. Every page should include the collector's name in the lower left corner.
2. Each collection should include the following: title page, informant and collector information, texts (separately or within interviews) contextual information (separately or within interviews) and analysis.
3. The title page should include the table of contents, the instructor's name, the course number, the quarter the course was taken, the collector's name, the collector's permanent address and phone number, and the release.
4. The following release is to be typed on the title page and signed by the collector:

> The following material is released and may be subject to public use and publication. In the event of publication, I would/would not prefer that actual names be withheld.

In order to understand fully the folklore you collect, it is necessary to know as much as possible about the person who transmits the lore, the immediate circumstances of the folkloric event, and the culture or group from which it comes. Thus, the collecting process involves much more than acquiring items of folklore. The following sections give some indication of the other kinds of information you need in order to have an in-depth and complete collection.

II. Informant and Collector Information

Include detailed information about every person from whom you collect. Start with the vital statistics: address, phone number, age, ethnic or racial background, education, occupation, religion, etc. Give a brief biographical sketch of the person's life including the background of parents and grandparents if pertinent. Describe each informant's personality and character based on your own and other's observations. Include the same information about yourself.

III. Texts (Individual items or interview)

It is important to transcribe the exact words of an item or interview. You may give the text of items separately or include them in interview form. On each page of texts include the informant's name in the upper right corner, the genre or genres (proverb, riddle, tale, etc.) in the upper left, and the date the item was collected in the lower right. You should also number items (in parentheses) within an interview.

IV. Context

1. History of Items

When, where, why, how, in what context, and from whom did the informant hear the item? Has the item been consciously changed in any way? Does the informant know different or additional versions? How often and under what circumstances is the item usually transmitted? How active is the item in the community or group? These questions help to establish the traditional background of the folklore as it is understood by the person.

2. Style and Manner of Presentation

Based on your own observation describe the manner or style in which the folklore is performed, transmitted or communicated. If the item is an artifact, information as to construction techniques and methodology should be included. Consideration should be given to such matters as body position and movement, facial expressions, gestures, dynamics, dramatic emphasis, delivery, opening and closing formulae, the use of dialect, sound effects, special props, and any other details which illuminate the performance.

3. Other Contextual Data

Contextual data should be documented as carefully and completely as possible. Describe the circumstances under which the folklore was collected (time of day, locale, surroundings, atmosphere, persons present, nature of the group, reason for the gathering, duration of the session, etc.); the relationship between the collector, informant and others present; the manner in which the item was elicited (interview, natural context, etc.); and the recording technique employed. Also include descriptions of responses to the folklore (positive, negative, indifferent, incredulous, etc.) as well as descriptions of the interaction between the participants (encouragement, disapproval, rapport, etc.)

What is the performer's attitude toward the item (approval, contempt, belief, etc.)? Especially in regard to superstitions, weather signs, cures, planting signs, legends and other belief lore, you should ascertain the degree of belief (total, partial, humorous incredulity, rejection, etc.)

If the item is collected in an artificial interview situation, then you should find out the natural context in which the folklore arises and describe it in detail.

4. Other Pertinent Information

The above directions are suggested guidelines to follow while collecting and documenting folkloric events rather than a complete checklist. Ideally, every aspect of the event should be recorded. Any other information which is important to a full understanding should be included.

V. Analysis

Look at all of the information you have gathered and attempt to discover what it means to the person and participants and what it reveals about their culture and about human nature. Comment on, interpret and analyze the folklore and all of the surrounding context. Various analytic approaches may be used (structural, comparative, classificatory, psychological, sociological, literary, anthropological, etc.). Different methods of analysis will be discussed in class.

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CHAPTER II

FAMILY FOLKLORE

Perhaps the easiest way to begin collecting folklore is to start within your own family. By working with people you know well, you can avoid the problems of collecting from strangers. Some of the best folklore collections we have received have been based on the collector's family. One excellent collection by Trisha Madden was centered on her father, Mr. Simmons, as the only informant. Her project is included at the end of this chapter as an example of an in-depth family folklore collection.

Every kind of folklore can be found within the family unit, but there are certain types which are more likely to be found in a family because they give a sense of family identity and tradition. Some of the genres of folklore you are likely to find in a family are folk speech, proverbs, family anecdotes, and legends.

Folk speech as defined by Jan Brunvand in the Study of American Folklore (p. 28) is "the traditional word, expression, usage, or name that is current in a folk group or in a particular region." Folk speech can be found in particular cultural groups or regions and also in smaller groups such as children's "clubs," a group of friends, etc. A family often develops certain words or phrases which have meaning only within that family. These are sometimes found in a broader tradition but take on more specific meanings within the family, or the words and phrases may be found only within the family. Often these are passed down through several generations. These "in" terms give the family a sense of group identity and exclude outsiders who do not understand the terms. They also give a sense of the family past if they survive from previous generations. The Madden collection contains several examples of family folk speech, such as the term "dootsing" for making trouble or being a pest. Studying family folk speech gives us clues to patterns in larger groups.

Proverbs and proverbial sayings are, according to Roger D. Abrahams, "short and witty traditional expressions that arise as part of everyday discourse as well as in the more highly structured situations of education and judicial proceedings." ("Proverbs and Proverbial Expressions," in Folklore and Folklife, An Introduction, edited by Richard M. Dorson, pp. 117-127.) Within a family situation proverbs would function "as part of everyday discourse." Proverbs are especially useful to parents who want to direct their children's actions in a subtle way or to instill traditional values in them. For instance, a mother we know always used proverbs to influence her daughter's actions when she was an adolescent. When there was to be a dance where the girls asked the boys, and the daughter would hesitate to call the boy she wanted to ask, her mother would say, "Faint heart never won fair lady." Even though this traditional proverb is usually addressed to males, it serves a direct purpose in this instance of encouraging the person to make the phone call.

Family anecdotes are short oral narratives about family members or ancestors which have become part of family tradition. Mody Boatright calls them "family saga" and points out their importance in revealing social values (The Family Saga and Other Phases of American Folklore, p. 2). These stories are not widely distributed outside the family, but they do tend to follow traditional patterns. For instance, many stories are based on eccentricities of family members. These stories continue after a person has died and function to keep memory of him or her alive. The story of Mr. Simmon's absent-minded father-in-law at a wedding in the Madden collection is a good example of this. Also prevalent in the "family saga" are stories of embarrassing things that precocious children have said or done. Some families have passed on stories of ancestors from several generations back---stories of how they first settled in the region or stories of adventure which point out the courageous qualities of the family. Since these family anecdotes are usually appreciated fully only within the family, they tend to establish family identity and pride. At the same time, since families are a unit within a larger society, these anecdotes also reflect general societal values and attitudes. Such is the case with the story of the Dutch boyfriend in the Madden collection. It is very similar to ethnic jokes and reflects attitudes toward other cultural groups.

Legend is an oral narrative which is believed to be true by the people who tell it and which is set in the recent or historical past. Often legends deal with the supernatural, and if a supernatural event has occurred to a particular family member then a story about this may circulate within the family and at times pass into general tradition. This is not to say that all or even most supernatural legends originate within family folklore, but it is a kind of folklore which is often found in a family. Many times these legends can be classified as memorates, stories told as first or second hand accounts. The story Mr. Simmons tells of the death dream of Paul Revere is a memorate based on a seemingly supernatural event. Since it has a strong narrative interest, it has become traditional in the family, and there is evidence that it has passed outside the family circle.

Many families have one person who stands out as a tradition bearer; it could be a grandfather, an aunt, or a mother, but this person is usually a good storyteller or has a strong memory of the family history and is interested in passing it on. This family raconteur usually has an outgoing personality and is thus easy to get stories from. Often it is an older person in the family, but sometimes younger members have a strong sense of family past.

A collection of folklore from such a tradition-oriented family member makes for a living portrait of that person--character, wit, and relationship to the rest of the family. Trisha Madden's collection of folklore from her father, Luke Simmons, painted such a portrait. The total collection reveals a warm, humane person, much loved and respected by his family. He uses folkloric forms as a vehicle for his wit and for carrying on family traditions. The material at the end of this chapter is part of her collection project including the introduction, the informant information, and several selected items.

Sometimes collecting one's family folklore leads to a deeper study of family or even community history. Often some of the best documents of that history will be found in the local cemetery where examples of both folk and mainstream culture can be found. Older cemeteries particularly will have stones that were cut by local masons (that is, traditional craftsmen) using traditional motifs. Sometimes, although rarely, the stones, as in a German cemetery near Tiffin, will be signed. As items that interest the folklorist, tombstones often fall into the gray area between traditional and mainstream culture occupied by such dubious artifacts as so-called "schoolgirl" art (mourning pictures, painting on velvet, etc.) and autograph book rhymes. Yet, like the autograph rhymes, some epitaphs become traditional by virtue of long and repeated use:

> Dearest son thou hast left us
> Here thy loss we deeply feel
> But 'tis God that hath bereft us
> He can all our sorrows heal.
>
> (1858, Seneca County, Rt. 53)

or this variant:

> Dearest son You last left us
> Bothered by loss we deeply feel
> But in God that has bereft us
> He can allow us sorrows to bear.
>
> (1860, Seneca County, Rt. 101).

The very traditional cherub's head is more commonly found in old New England cemeteries than in the later Ohio graveyards. Here the urn, the willow, the clasped hand are frequently seen, inspired perhaps by Victorian sentimentality (i.e. popular culture) but acquiring a traditional "rightness" and stylized form with the passage of time.

One can, of course, document community history by a careful analysis of tombstone information. Social custom, religious belief, evidence of disease, criminal behavior (and punishment), familial relations and roles, size of family---all considerations of importance when studying folklife history---are recorded, if sometimes obscurely. Here is a simple form which can be greatly expanded, for recording tombstone information:

Cemetary Record

Location:
Church affiliation:

Name:	Inscription:		Motif(s):	Tombstone:	
full or partial? kinship indicated?	Manner of dating	Verse: Biblical Poem		Materials	Size/ Shape (Sketch)

COLLECTION PROJECT OF TRISHA MADDEN

INTRODUCTION

I chose to do this collection on my father, Luke Simmons. I had originally intended to collect folklore from my whole family; however, whenever I asked for a story, everyone directed me to my father with a "You know your father is the official family 'B.S.er'."

My father is quick to pick up an unusual phrase or idea from friends, movies, radio, children or situations, and continue to use this phrase or idea to capture the essense of new situations. He has his very own unique folklore. Surprisingly, this personal folklore has spread, and I, his daughter have heard "Simmonsisms" as my mother calls them, from people who have never met my father (i.e., friends of friends). These people often do not even know the original intention of these Simmonsisms.

Many of these Simmonsisms are "uncollectable" because they would never be brought out during an interview or even during a bull session. Some of these Simmonsisms are a part of life---they occur only spontaneously, without prompting. They occur at home, under natural living conditions. As a Simmons daughter turned folklorist, I have a first-hand opportunity to see folklore in the making and in the transmission.

This is not to imply that this collection is of no major importance. These items were collected from only one man, in a very small community, with very little universality of the literal meaning. However, all of this was collected within the realm of the larger society, and the items are shadowed and illuminated with many social and cultural values, attitudes, customs, and ideas. For this reason, this collection is of impressive universal consequence. I also feel that collecting from one person, especially a person so rich in folklore and a person to whom folklore is so important and intrinsic, is of value to understanding that person himself. A friend read over this collection, and although she had never met my father, she felt that she knew him. It is worthwhile to see, then, how Simmonsisms are really just peoplisms.

Informant Information

Luke Simmons, age 59, Ohio.

Mr. Simmons manages a printing company in Ohio. His father was a many-generation American of German ancestry. His maternal grandparents were born in Germany, so his family culture was well laced with German customs, traditions, and even German phrases and words. His family took great pride in their German heritage and instilled this pride in their children. Although Mr. Simmons' father has been dead for close to forty years, and his mother has been dead for fifteen years, Mr. Simmons remembers and has continued many of the German cultural traditions of his family, as has his older sister and older brother.

Mr. Simmons is a witty and intelligent man who has become very successful business-wise within the past twenty years. Although his economic situation and his recent promotion to an officership within his company affords him a place among the social elites of the community, he spends his time among old friends in the "old Neighborhood" and amuses himself with their cultural entertainments: bowling and beers rather than bridge and martinis.

Mr. Simmons is an unusual informant in the way he not only continues passing on the folklore others have given him, but he creates his very own brand of folklore that has become traditional in his family, his children's families and even within the community.

Folk Speech: "Halibut"

> Just after we moved out of a government housing project and into the suburbs when I was six years old, my parents let me get a dog. They took me to a pet store and I now think that they wanted to get some sort of pedigree dog, like our new neighbors had. But the final decision was mine, so I

picked out the friendliest pup---100% pure mutt. My father became a little disgruntled with that, but he became even more embarrassed when I named the ugly little dog Black Beauty.

About that time he started to call the dog Halibut. When the neighbors asked why he called her that, he said, "We got her for the halibut, we keep her for the halibut, so I call her Halibut for the halibut."

This functions psychologically for him as an excuse for owning such a mutt. It also gave him an alternative to having to yell "Here, Beauty" whenever he had to call the ugliest dog in the neighborhood. It also functions for entertainment.

Folk Speech: "Zep-so-tay"

A "zep-so-tay" is a flighty, social butterfly type person, a pseudo-cultured, pseudo-educated person, usually a woman. I used this word all my life among our family; I just now began to wonder where the word came from. There is a story behind it.

My older sister, then four years old, had been taking ballet lessons on Saturdays. My father picked her up one afternoon and asked her what she had learned. She replied, "Oh, we learned to zep-so-tay and turn abahsum." She practiced a little step all week to the chant. My father was so intrigued, he arrived early the next day when he picked her up from dance class, and he asked the teacher what it meant. The teacher had taught the girls to chant, "Step, heel, toe and turn about then."

The reference to the story serves as entertainment. This story serves to bring back pleasant memories of childhood. The characterization of a flighty, phony woman as a "zep-so-tay" refers to the misinformation that my sister was so proud to pass on, and her false feeling of superiority resulting from the fact that only she knew what it meant.

Folk Speech: "Put a little schnitla on it./ "It needs schnitla."

Whenever someone dislikes a food, my father always says, "Put a little schnitla on it." He had learned this word from his mother, who in turn had learned it from her mother. My father never knew what it referred to; he suspected that schnitla is a spice. I wrote to my Aunt Marilyn, my father's older sister, and she replied that schnitla is the German word for chives. She remembers that their maternal grandmother had a chive plant on her kitchen window sill, and she snipped a little of it into just about everything. Their mother also had chive plants, but she rarely used them. However, the family jokingly referred to the overuse of the schnitla plant in this phrase.

Since my father never knew what schnitla was, he began to suggest that schnitla could aid any unpleasant thing or situation. After watching a recent play rehearsal, he commented, "It needs a little schnitla." He meant that the play lacked pizazz, spunk, life, schnitla.

This is an example of an item associated with a person; the recollection of that item reminds one of the person. For this reason the collection is perpetuated. My father's use of the term, schnitla, has a somewhat different function. He doesn't even know what the term really means, but he uses it to re-identify himself with his family and to teach his children to identify themselves with their ancestors and their German heritage. The function is entertainment; this phrase always rates a chuckle.

Folk Speech:

Situation: one knock at the back door. The door opens. My father, from another room says, "who dat?" The reply is: "Who Dat?" My father: "Who dat, dat say 'Who dat' when I say 'Who dat?'"

Whenever someone close to our family comes to visit, they usually knock once, then come on in. There is a little re-initiation ritual that my father puts such visitors through. (Above) This is an initiation situation. If someone were to reply to the first, "Who dat" with, "Why this is ..." or some other inappropriate response, our family would know that we had better straighten ties and put shoes on and get up to greet company.

This functions for entertainment and for information; we find out, by the sound of the answering voice, "who dat" really is. There is also a subtle racial slur attached to the dialogue. The implication is that black people, as evidenced by the Southern accent, really answer the door with such an abrupt phrase. Therefore, this dialogue functions to perpetuate existing prejudices and stereotypes about the black race.

Folk Speech: "Quit dootsing around."

There is a traditional family word for making trouble, or fudding or being a pest; the word is dootsing. A child would be admonished to quit dootsing around. This is especially useful when company is around, for it can express to the child exactly what he is doing wrong quickly and precisely without being ostentacious.

My father remembers his parents using it, and he has applied it to his children. He speculates that it is a German word that had no English equivalent, so his German grandparents adopted it into their English vocabulary. However, when I was born, it developed a variant meaning; it changed from a verb to a proper noun. I am, and will always be to my family and close family friends, "Doots." At first my mother objected to the nickname,however appropriate it must have been. For this reason, another variant arose. Just to perturb her, my father attached this objectionable nickname to my middle name, which is also my mother's family's traditional name for their women. He began to call me "Doots Marlene." This also developed a variant, and shortened itself to "Dootsma."

This functions as a unifying force for our family. It is a special vocabulary unknown to "outsiders." It also functions by reinstating our German ancestry and by providing a bridge over the generations of our family.

Proverbial Phrase: "Roast duck and applesauce."

My father has a standard reply to the question, "What's for dinner?" That reply is, "Roast duck and applesauce."

My father had frequented a restaurant where the specialty was roast duck and applesauce, and the waiters all pushed the special plate dinner because the chef always made too much of it. Whenever my father asked what was good that night, he always got the same reply: "Roast duck and applesauce."

This functions as entertainment. Although I never knew the history behind "roast duck and applesauce" I always thought it was funny because of its obvious falseness and incongruity.

It functions socially as a subtle hint not to ask potentially aggravating questions. It implies, "You'll eat what you are served without any questions."

Proverbial Saying: "Wear your organdy chiffon gingham with the rick-racks down the back!"

My father lives with my mother, my two sisters, and myself. He usually doesn't complain about hen talk---I suppose that he's used to it. However, he does become impatient with the "Oh, what shall I wear?" dialogue that preceeds every outing. His standard reply is the saying above. In this little nonsense phrase, he sums up and beautifully imitates female clothes jargon. Psychologically, this phrase is a put-down for the hens and a reestablishment of the separateness and superiority of the rooster. Socially, it works for the "hens" in the exact opposite way; it positively reinforces their role as frivolous people concerned with banal trivialities. It also works to subtly change this foolish behavior.

Its function is to get the women going, and to stop the indecision over what to wear.

Proverbial Saying: "When the money's gone, love flies out the window; so keep the windows closed."

Just after I became engaged, my father warned me, "When the money's gone, love flies out the window." This admonition functions to make me reconsider the hardships of marrying young and poor. The meaning is that love cannot flourish in an atmosphere of tension resulting from lack of money. There is nothing romantic about being broke, it says.

Just after I married, too young and too poor for many people, my father warned me, "Remember, when the money's gone, love flies out the window, so keep the window closed."

This is the typical way my father had of personalizing a traditional saying. However, I learned earlier that this same personalized addition was attached to the admonitive saying by my grandfather when my father married. This knowledge softened the warning. It indicated that love, in fact, can be kept from "flying out the window" when the money's gone. This is an example of a family phrase bridging the generations. It is almost ritualistic because it is told only at the event of a wedding.

It functions socially to prevent "too early" marriages.

Proverb: "Who would buy the cow when he's getting the milk free?"

In high school I had a girlfriend who was said to be "fast." She had been dating a guy at least six years older that she was, and she planned to marry him after she got out of high school. When I told my father that they were going to be married, he replied, "He'll never marry her. Who would buy the cow when he's getting the milk free?"

This functions socially to reimpress the value of continence before marriage; the girl is the one who should not "sell herself" prior to marriage, or perhaps for any price below that of marriage. There is also the implication here of "used goods." Marriage, according to the proverb, is a very practical institution. It completely dismisses love. Although I know that my father feels that love is of major importance in marriage, he assumes here that love has nothing to do with a pre-marital affair.

There is an implication here of prostitution because of the monetary parallel to buying milk.

Psychologically, my father was assuring himself that he had done the right thing by marrying. He was not the type to take advantage of a young girl, the implication is.

Family Anecdote:

I guess I was a little trouble-maker when I was little. Your Aunt Marilyn, you know, is ten years older than me so I was just a little guy when she started bringing boyfriends home. We were all sitting at the dinner table one night---we always ate at exactly seven o'clock---and there was a knock at the door and my father got up to answer it. It was a young man for Marilyn, and he was real embarrassed for interrupting our dinner. His family was Dutch or something, so they always ate earlier in the day. My father was trying to make him feel at home, so he said, "Won't you join us for dinner?" The boy was really embarrassed. He said, "No thank you, sir. I just got off the table from eating myself."

I don't remember it, but later I heard my folks saying how my eyes just about bugged out of my head when he said that. I looked around and everyone was mighty red, I guess from trying not to laugh. They were afraid I might say something to him about it.

Your Aunt Marilyn didn't bring that one home again!

This story was told after a series of "Pollack" jokes. I suppose the ethnic slur on the Polish reminded my father of this story. It functions to reestablish the identity of the family by excluding the young man from the joke; he is a "foreigner" and a non-member. The young man's mischoice of words shows that he is an outsider. Even the fact that his family ate dinner at a "different" hour reinforces the young man's separateness.

The fact that the family concealed their laughter, least they hurt the boy's feelings, shows that they are considerate, well-bred people. However, since they did not in any way show the boy that he had made a mistake, they excluded him from the group. This was not in any way an initiation-type situation.

I also collected this story from my aunt, who told just about the same story, only with the focus on herself and her reactions rather than on my father.

Family Anecdote:

When your mother and I were married, her father "gave her away" at the wedding. Pop (my mother's father), you know never got terribly excited about anything, even his daughter's wedding. He was nonchalant to the point of boredom at the rehearsal, and we were scared that he didn't know his part. So we told the minister that he might prompt Pop to place your mother's hand in his hand by reaching out for it.

Sure enough, the day of the wedding the minister said, "Who giveth this woman in marriage?" and Pop's looking around sort of dreamily. So the minister says it again and reaches out toward Pop so Pop could place your mother's hand in his. Pop comes to life all of a sudden, and thinking that it's all over with, grabs that minister's hand in a handshake and starts pumping his arm up and down. We could have died!

This legend functions as entertainment. My father is genuinely amused with not only the memory, but also with my mother's flustered embarrassment whenever he tells this story. It functions also to perpetuate the memory of my grandfather, and to make him real to those of us who were very young when he died. It also functions as a sort of warning (I heard this story for the first time just before my own wedding) of all the unpredictable things that can go wrong at a wedding.

Legend (Memorate):

I was about twenty years old, I guess, when I was in that car accident and broke both my legs. (He refers here to a previously told story.) I had been in traction for a long time---a couple of months, when they finally sent me home. I got pneumonia from lying on my back for so long, so your grandmother and your Aunt Marilyn watched me all day, and then they hired a private nurse to watch me all night. The nurse was a good one all right. She would read the paper, but every other line or so, she'd look up and make sure I was O.K. I dozed off and on, so I really don't remember much about this, but I guess I dozed off---I learned better later---and I had this weird dream that I was on this horse tearing down a dirt street and over cobblestones, whipping that horse's butt and screaming, "The British are coming!" I woke up and your grandmother and Aunt Marilyn and that nurse were all standing over me, sort of worried. You see, that nurse had noticed that I had stopped breathing, and my heart had stopped, so she plunged some adrenalin into my heart and got it going again.

Marilyn said, "Lukey, how are you?" and I told them about that dream and sort of laughed. She turned real pale, and my mother almost fainted. You see, my great, great, great, great uncle was Paul Revere, and I never knew it until that night.

This story has been widely spread through the family and among the family friends and community. Members of our family like to tell it because it is an unboastful means of telling that we are related to Paul Revere. I told this story to my two freshman roommates when I was at a small university in Ohio. Before the year was over, I had twice heard the story from other students in a slightly variant form, with the attribution to my family missing. My father says that the story has come back to him in much the same way. Of course, we can't be sure that all the variants we hear originated with our story, but we can be fairly sure since the geographic area of transmission is fairly limited, as is the time element.

My father told this story only to close friends and to family. He says that many people would "think I am crazy" if he told it to them. He believes it totally, but he hesitates to try to explain the dream; all he will say is, "Who knows?" The implication, of course, is that the being dead did reveal to him his spiritual union with his ancestor, Paul Revere. This story functions as a means to elevate our family status in our eyes, as well as in the eyes of the people who hear it, because of the reference to Paul Revere: it functions as entertainment; it functions socially in almost a religious manner to support life after death theories; and it functions psychologically to voice the fears of the whims of fortune (this all happened when the nurse, the alert, knowledgeable person was there and not---thank God, it implies---the mother or sister who couldn't have saved him).

It amazed me how closely this tale follows Joseph Campbell's outline of the hero experience (The Hero With A

Thousand Faces). In the legend about my father, the entrance into the extraordinary land or the "land of the gods" as Campbell calls it, is attained through a death and a resultant dream. This "death" is the means for crossing the threshold. The initiation is the revelation of the experiences of Paul Revere. The return is obtained by the shot of adrenalin.

Chapter 2: Family Folklore
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CHAPTER III

CHILDREN'S FOLKLORE

Children have a strong group identity, shared beliefs and values, common behavioral patterns, and a body of shared folk expressions; they are, in other words, a folk group. They are also one of the most accessible folk groups as far as folklore collecting is concerned. You can walk out in your own neighborhood, find a group of children playing, and listen to their taunts, their rhymes, their jokes, their games; this is their folklore, and although much of it has a contemporary sound to it, the folklore of children is actually very traditional in many ways.

What is the value of collecting children's folklore? Most people think of it as trivial and pay no attention to it. (Brian Sutton-Smith, a folklorist and child psychologist, calls this "the triviality barrier," which students of children's folklore must overcome.) But the folk expressions of children do have importance. For instance, the games played by children prepare them for adult life by teaching them about competition, aggression, and cooperation in a controlled situation. Rhymes of derision enable them to vent hostilities verbally thereby avoiding physical confrontations (sometimes). Children's folklore exhibits the same underlying attitudes and values of adult society, and they are expressed unselfconsciously, making them easier to study.

When adults take children's traditions for granted, they are missing out on an entire realm of experience. When folklorists accidentally overhear a group of children playing, we always try to listen intently to what they are saying, and are always amazed by this glimpse into their world. There are good and bad things expressed through their folklore. Their rhymes are often refreshing and imaginative comments on the world around them, but they may also express racial prejudices which have already been learned from adults.

Children's folklore should be of special interest to teachers. By studying the lore of children, teachers can better understand how they think and why they behave the way they do, and this in turn should help teach them more effectively. Teachers, of course, have an excellent situation for collecting folklore from students, and there are several different methods which can be used. One of the best ways is to have a class discussion about a particular kind of folklore. First tell them a little of the background and give them some examples you have read or heard. Usually the group will respond immediately because you have touched on an area that they are familiar with already, and the only problem will be keeping everybody from trying to speak at once. To avoid missing any items, record the entire session. This group approach is especially effective with superstitions, riddles, rhymes, and jokes.

Another method is to have a writing assignment based on folklore. This would also require some explanation ahead of time and a group discussion after you had read the material. The written material may not be as spontaneous or even in the same words as the verbal expressions, but it could be used as a basis for making later recordings. An even better place to collect is outside of the classroom because the playground setting lends itself to more spontaneous expressions so that you as a collector can not only obtain the item of folklore but also the context from which it arises and thereby be in a better position to understand the folklore completely. For instance, a jump rope rhyme collected in the classroom would not have the activity associated with it, but on the playground you could get a complete description of the jumping activity including how many children are involved, if they are boys or girls, if the game tests skill, endurance, or speed and how the children interact while engaged in the game. This will make the rhyme much more meaningful.

These tips which we have been addressing to teachers can be applied to any person interested in collecting children's folklore.

Perhaps you know a teacher who could arrange for you to meet with a class; otherwise, observation and interviews on playgrounds are very good ways to collect children's folklore. It is usually a good idea to get permission from the principal or supervisor before going on a school yard or a summer recreation area. But there are many opportunities to observe unsupervised children at play without permission in your own neighborhood.

No matter what the setting is---school playground, or neighborhood---children are probably the easiest group from which to collect folklore. They are rarely suspicious, and after they find out what you want they are usually eager to help as much as possible. The only material they might try to withhold is obscene folklore. If you want obscene folklore in order to have a complete picture of the group's traditional expressions, then it is usually possible to collect it if you have established the right rapport with the children. This will probably take more than one visit, but as with any field collecting project you should return again and again to collect from the same group or individual.

There are many different kinds of folklore and folklife to look for among children, and you should seek all the various genres before deciding which you are most interested in. One brief kind of lore is folk naming and epithets. Iona and Peter Opie found a wide variety of folk names and epithets among children in England (The Lore and Language of School Children, pp. 154-174); many of the names and taunts they collected are also found in the United States: "Georgie Porgie," "greedy guts" "blabbermouth," "four-eyes," and so forth. The Opies talk about the importance that children place on their names; names are so significant that there is a traditional rhyme to keep a child from revealing his name; "What's your name?" "Puddin' an Tame. Ask me again and I'll tell you the same." According to the Opies, this traditional rhyme can be traced back to 1603 in England, and you can probably hear it right outside your door in America today.

Rhyming is a favorite verbal activity among children, and there is a seemingly endless variety of traditional rhymes still circulating today. Many function as taunts and jeers: "Fatty, fatty, two by four./ Couldn't get through the bathroom door./ So he did it on the floor." And of course there is a traditional rhyming rebuttal for the jeers: "Sticks and stones may break my bones, but names will never hurt me." The taunts and jeers of children serve to make fun of anyone who is different in any way; and this certainly reinforces the value of homogeneity in our society.

First grade, babies.
Second grade, tots.
Third grade, angels.
Fourth grade, snots.

Fifth grade, peaches.
Sixth grade, plums.
All the rest are
Dirty bums.

(Collected from a ten year old girl in Bellefontaine in 1973.)

This is a good example of the social attitudes that grade-school children have about the separateness and superiority of their own grade. Each grade is categorized and segregated from the others. I think that this rhyme is said mostly by third graders, and seems to be from their view point. They are the superior, perfect ones, and they look down on the first and second graders as inferior, but the fourth graders, who may look down on them in the same way, are "snots" for it. The fifth and sixth graders are so far removed from them as to be nothing more significant than "peaches" and "plums." The much older kids and adults are all lumped together and referred to with a derisive term, probably as the ones who oppress and control children---the "bosses."

Of course, children in other grades say this too. It is a source of identity for them, more or less. Probably even the "babies" and "snots" and "plums" are somewhat pleased with their titles because it is their title and binds them together with the rest of their group.

I think that a rhyme like this would appear only in traditional, highly-structured type schools where children in different grades are segregated from others. In open classrooms where there is mixing of grades, and in old-fashioned one-room school houses, I don't think that this would happen, although any child who heard the rhyme would be likely to repeat it, even without attaching any significance to it.

Mary and Herbert Knapp's One Potato, Two Potato contains many varied examples of American children's rhymes. There are many other kinds of children's rhymes to collect: jump rope rhymes, hand clapping rhymes, counting out rhymes, autograph rhymes, and rhymes recited just for fun. Roger Abrahams in his Jump Rope Rhymes, A Dictionary lists 619 different rhymes indicating the wide variety and rich tradition available to collectors. The following example illustrates the kind of description of activity which should accompany jump rope rhymes.

Blue bells, cockle shells,
Evy ivy over my head.
Here comes the teacher with a big black stick
I wonder what I got in arithmetic.
One, two, three, ten, twenty, thirty, forty,...
(until jumper misses) (Abrahams, p. 18)

(Collected from a twelve year old girl by her sister in Columbus in 1973.) During the beginning of the rhyme, the girls do not turn the rope in a complete sphere as is normally done but they turn it only half way or in a semisphere. When they sing "over my head," they turn the rope in a complete spherical fashion. When they begin counting, the rope turners turn the rope at a faster and faster rate; which is called doing hots or peppers. Peppers makes jumping the rope more and more difficult and competitive. The line about a teacher carrying a big, black stick expresses the girls' concept of a teacher being a disciplinarian who will punish them if they are not good. When the girls sing "I wonder what I got in arithmetic," they are expressing their anxieties about getting good grades. The competition among the girls when they count and jump to peppers to see who can reach the highest number is symbolic of the competition among the girls in receiving good grades.

Many times the same rhymes are used for different activities so that one rhyme might be collected with jumping rope, hand clapping or counting out. Rhymes provide the rhythm for the children's hand clapping games. Counting out rhymes help them to choose who will be "it" for various games. An example would be "One potato, two potato, three potato, four, five potato, six potato, seven potato, more." Also there are many divination rhymes to determine such things as boyfriend's name, marriage date, number of kisses, etc.; for example:

Button-counting rhyme:

> Rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief.
> Doctor, lawyer, Indian chief.

As you say this rhyme, point to a button on the clothes you are wearing for each person you say. Whatever you say for the last button indicates who you will marry. (For boys it indicates what you will be when you grow up.)

(Collected from a sixteen year old girl from Lisbon in 1973.) The informant remembers this rhyme from childhood saying that girls played it much more frequently than did boys. She recalls that many times a person would be so unhappy with the outcome of the rhyme that she would put on a sweater or some other item of clothing with buttons to change the outcome of the rhyme and of her future.

This counting rhyme reflects children's interest in adult life and particularly an intense interest in what one's own adult life and future will hold. This universal curiosity about adult life and the desire to be "grown up" account for its widespread popularity.

The idea that buttons can predict one's future shows a degree of belief in fate. The fact that children added buttons to change fate shows a belief one can control his fate. (Abrahams, #489)

Autograph rhymes are transmitted in written form rather than orally, but they are traditional and exhibit many qualities of orally transmitted lore. Children still carry autograph books to school, especially at the end of the school year, to have their friends write messages in them, many of which are traditional rhymes.

Most children are willing to show these books to adults so that you can collect directly from them. Many people keep these autograph books all of their lives and we have seen some dated in the late 19th Century. It is quite interesting to compare autograph books from different generations; the rhymes have tended to change from a serious sentimental to a mocking satiric quality.

Roses are red
Violets are blue
Toilets are stinky
And so are you.
-June 1965

(From the album of a college student from Oxford.) The 11 year old girl who wrote this had written in parentheses "not true," next to the rhyme. She obviously realized that her poem contained a rather unacceptable (at least to adults) display of aggression and hostility which she was expressing through this rhyme. Therefore her guilt feelings compelled her to say that it was not true, in order to make it more acceptable. This rhyme does function as a release of anxiety about hostility and aggressive feelings. Her excusing it indicates that she is already aware of certain societal values concerning this. (Morrison, Yours Till. . . . p. 2.)

There are many other kinds of rhymes which are not connected with games or autograph books. These might be recited while walking home from school and comment on a variety of subjects. One heard from two boys walking down the street in 1972 was "Nixon Nixon he's our man./McGovern belongs in a garbage can." Of course, the words can be turned around depending on the political point of view. A favorite basis for rhymes are parodies of existing songs---patriotic songs, songs in T.V. commercials, religious songs, etc. Children love to make fun of established adult expressions.

(Sung to the tune of "McDonald's Is Our Kind of Place")

McDonald's is our kind of place,
Hamburgers in your face,
French fries between your toes,
Dill pickles up your nose,

With ketchup running down your back,
I want my money back,
Before I have a heart attack.
A heart attack.

(Collected from a twelve year old boy from Lisbon in 1973.) This song makes fun of the advertisement song "McDonald's Is Our Kind of Place," by changing the words but keeping the tune. This parody reflects the absurdity of the claims by some hamburger joints of delicious foods and happy times for very little money.

It is interesting to note that Chuck's favorite past-time is eating and that McDonald's and similar hamburger joints are his favorite "kind of place." He prefers a hamburger at McDonald's to a steak dinner. In this light, it seems more likely that for Chuck, this song is just a funny version of the regular song. Even though it makes fun of McDonald's, it's still about his favorite thing---FOOD.

The games which are played along with the chanted rhymes can be collected also. The best approach is to describe the game in detail and also record any words that accompany it. Brian Sutton-Smith in his book The Folk Games of Children describes many kinds of games and the various ways of interpreting them. There are simple games played by children from four to seven such as "Ring Around the Rosy" and "Farmer in the Dell." There are chasing and tagging games also played by younger children such as "hide-and-seek," and "red-rover." There are kissing games played by sub-teens such as "Spin the bottle" and "Post Office." There are ring games played by children seven to eleven such as "Donna died" and "Punchinella." All of these are usually learned from older children and passed on in a traditional manner unaffected by adults or game books.

Strut Miss Lizzie, Strut Miss Lizzie, Strut Miss Lizzie,
all day long.
Here comes another one, just like the other one, here
comes another one, all day long.
This way Valerie, that way Valerie, this way Valerie,
all day long.

(Repeated until everyone has a turn.)

(Collected from a 30 year old third grade teacher in Marion in 1973.) Jean observed her third grade girls playing this game while she was on play-ground duty. The girls played through the game three times before discontinuing the game. She describes the game as follows: The girls stand in two straight lines with each girl in one line facing a girl standing in the other line. Thus, each girl has a partner. One girl at the end of one line begins down the middle of the two lines with the girls singing the first line of the song. Durthis time the girl may do anything she wishes to do (i.e., struts in a particular way or hops, etc.). Next, her partner comes down the line doing what the first girl has done while the others are singing the second line of the song. Then, each girl with her partner grasps opposite hands and elbows in rhythm with the last line. The game continues in the same way until each girl has had a turn.

Games of chance, skill, and strategy are also very popular among children. Skill games include ones played with jack knives such as "mumbley-peg," or marble games, or "jacks." Some games involve the entire family such as "Speaking with eggs":

At Easter, a game called "Speaking" is played by two people using colored, hard-boiled Easter eggs. One person holds his egg still with only the pointed end sticking out. The other person, using the pointed end of his egg, lightly taps the other's egg to see whose will crack. Then, the one who tapped holds the rounded end of his egg up, and the other person, using his rounded end, taps. The person whose egg is cracked on both ends first, loses and must eat his egg. Many times a person will get a "good" egg that always wins or he has a favorite color or size that works best for him.

"My grandad once said about the time his dad snuck a wooden egg into the basket and used it to 'Speak.' He went all around the table and cracked all the eggs. Then somebody said, 'Hey, let's see that egg,' and it was wooden."

(Collected from a 23 year old man from Columbus by his sister in 1973.) The informant was eager to describe the game. He used gestures to show how the egg is held and how the tapping is done. The game is one he has played all his life as part of Easter tradition. He laughed as he told the incident of the wooden egg and seemed proud of his great-grandfather's ingenuity. The game obviously serves the instrumental function of entertainment. The whole family participates and enjoys playing or watching others play.

The game further functions as a source of family pride. Visitors who have never heard of the game are eagerly taught how to play. Since there is an amount of skill involved in how to tap the egg and how hard to tap it, and since novices usually tap much too easily or much too hard, members of the family usually win.

Within the family, "Speaking" is a game of competition. One person may proclaim himself champion which leads others to challenge that position. Alan speculates that the game may have been learned in Australia. "I guess they were pretty competitive. Maybe so much that they'd do anything to compete, even 'Speaking.'" Although the source of the game is Syrian, this reveals the family's feeling of competitiveness connected with the game.

"Speaking" also serves as a source of family pride in that family anecdotes such as the one included are repeated yearly. Also, since Alan's family lives on a small farm and raises chickens, and the eggs they use for "Speaking" are "home-grown," there is further identification of the game to themselves personally and to their way of life. (White, v. 1, p. 231.)

Strategy games are often played with pencil and paper such as "tic-tac-toe." Other games are spin-offs of organized sports such as baseball or basketball, but children and teenagers have a way of creating their own folk versions of these games if enough players or the right kind of equipment are not available. With a basketball, they play "Horse;" with a bat and baseball, "Flys and Rollers." When collecting any of these games, give a complete detailed description of all the activity involved.

"HORSE" Everybody who wants to play lines up and the first in line tries to make any kind of shot he wants. If he misses, the next in line is free to try any shot but if the first guy makes his, then everyone after him has got to make the exact same shot or get a letter (in the word "horse"). When a guy gets Horse he is out of the game and the last guy left wins. If the guy in front of you misses the shot he had to make, you are free to make any shot you choose. The game just goes on like this until only one guy is left. He's a good shot, you can be sure of that; a guy doesn't win this if he isn't.

(Collected from a twenty year old college student from Berea in 1973.) The informant and I played this game for many years in our neighborhood and have passed it on to the younger members who have since begun to play it without our impetus. The informant was very adept at this game, the best in the area, mainly because of the time he spent practicing. The game was played along with "Round the World" and "One on One" anytime, but mostly when the ground was too wet to play football or baseball. Other times were when it was too hot to do anything real active or so cold that to keep warm required too many clothes to move quickly. In these cases, "Horse" and "Round the World" were chosen over the more active "One on One."

A shorter version of this game was collected and known as "PIG." It is not connected to any protest movement at the present time as the informant indicated that the game existed before the word became associated with policemen.

Riddles and jokes can be considered together since most of the riddles found among children today are joking riddles. Jan Brunvand in The Study of American Folklore gives many examples of the joking riddle, especially ones which are a part of joke fads which periodically sweep across the country. "What's purple and conquered the world? Alexander the Grape." "What is grey and dangerous? An elephant with a machine gun." These are nonsensical jokes and are actually parodies of traditional riddles, but they are firmly established as part of the lore of children. Students of Ohio State collect numerous riddles and joking riddles every year from Ohio children.

When is a blue book not a blue book?
When it is read (red).

(Collected from a ten year old girl from Athens in 1973.) Christine told me this riddle when I went home with her sister. She was excited upon telling me this riddle when I told her why I needed it. The humor and entertainment of this riddle is shown when used in oral tradition. It can also serve as an educational purpose because the punch line of the riddle enables a child to distinguish between words that sound alike and are spelled differently. They also show a child how they are distinguished from each other. A child can have great fun learning things like this. This riddle can be classified as a conundrum because it is based on punning or wordplay. The pun may occur in either question or answer form by asking why one thing is like another. Christine was very helpful to me upon collecting riddles for my collection.

What did the light bulb say to the switch?
You turn me on.

(Collected from the same ten year old girl.) This riddle was told to me by Christine upon a visit to her home. She is always full of laughter and excitement when telling any riddles, etc. This riddle serves as an entertainment purpose among children her age. It was very common in her neighborhood at this time because everyone was telling different riddles. The humor in this riddle is found in the fact that a popular slang expression is used out of context. This riddle probably only circulates in that age group which uses this slang expression, since without the understanding of the expression, the humor would be entirely lost.

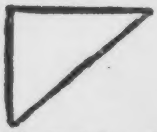
The jokes of children can be classified as a kind of folktale because they have a narrative structure and often have a long traditional life behind them. Many popular children's jokes are a generally accepted outlet for sexual repressions of society. When collecting jokes from children, you should try to get information on their attitude toward the jokes, where they heard it, how often they repeat it. All of this will help you to understand the joke better and what it means in the life of the child.

This kid was being bad, and he also had to go to the bathroom. So, the teacher made him read off the alphabet. He said: "A-B-C-D-E-F-G-H-I-J-K-L-M-N-O-Q-R-S-T-U-V-W-X-Y-Z." And the teacher asked him where the "P" was. And he says: "It's running down my leg."

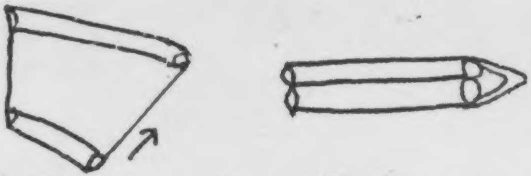
(Collected from an eleven year old girl from Dayton by her sister in 1973.) This is a joke that every child has heard at one time or another, and in fact, this collector has heard four year olds telling it. It seems to be particularly funny to grade school children; they can empathize with the boy. Betsy said she was tired of hearing it, but she still wanted to tell the collector.

Material folk culture is a neglected part of children's folklife, but there are many ways in which tradition is expressed through non-verbal means. Toys are one example. Children still make some of their own toys or have adults make them for them. Often the toys are based on traditional designs remembered from another generation. Boys still make wooden toy guns which shoot strips of inner tube rubber. Girls in some areas still make their own dolls out of old socks. Many college students remember making folded paper devices for telling fortunes. Parents still fold handkerchiefs into dolls and cradles and newspapers into boats and hats for their children.

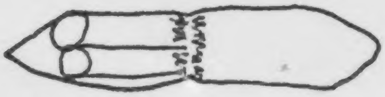
TWO twins in a cradle:



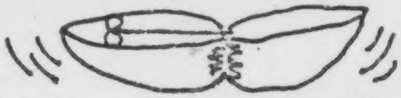
1) Fold a handkerchief diagonally



2) Roll each corner until they meet at the center. Put the rolled ends between your teeth and pull one point up and one point down.



3) It should look like this.



4) Pick up the two ends and rock the two twins in a cradle!

(Collected from an adult woman who remembered it from childhood.) This was taught to Gertie by her mother, and was taught to her by her mother. The informant has taught this to her children and to her grandchildren. Originally, this probably served a functional purpose; to provide children with an inexpensive toy.

The preceding twelve examples of children's folklife were collected by folklore students at Ohio State University. Some items were collected from adults or teenagers who were remembering lore of their own childhood. This can often be a fruitful way to collect children's folklore, but a fuller picture of the lore can be gained by collecting directly from the age group where the expressions are actively a part of their lives.

Chapter 3: Children's Folklore
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CHAPTER 4

TEENAGE AND COLLEGE FOLKLORE

As children pass into adolescence their interests and attitudes change, and naturally there is a corresponding change in their folklore. The rhymes and games of childhood are dropped and replaced by popular music, organized sports and social dancing. But jokes continue to be told, only on a more sophisticated level. The most striking new area of folklore is in belief lore---superstitions and legends. These form a minor part of children's lore and a major part of teenage and college lore. There is a gradual change in the lore from high school to college, but many of the underlying concerns expressed through folklore remain the same.

Collecting from teenagers is not difficult, especially if the collector has an understanding and empathy with them. As with children, teachers can collect from adolescents in a classroom situation and also make folklore a part of the curriculum. Angus K. Gillespie has been teaching folklore on the high school level for several years, and he has had very successful results from his experience. In an article in Keystone Folklore Quarterly 15 (Summer, 1970), entitled "Comments on Teaching and Collecting Folklore" he discusses students collecting from other students and includes five examples of student collections. In a later article, "Teaching Folklore in the Secondary School: The Institutional Setting," Journal of the Ohio Folklore Society, 2 (1973), he analyzes the different problems encountered in teaching in private and public schools, and he outlines how his own folklore course evolved, including assignments for papers and collection projects.

Eliot Wigginton is another high school teacher who successfully incorporated folklore collecting into the curriculum. He was teaching English and Journalism in a small school in the southern Appalachians of Georgia and was so discouraged by the lack of response of the students that he suggested they start a magazine of their own. The magazine evolved into a collection of folklore and folklife from family and neighbors of the students, and it was called Foxfire. The students' imaginations and creative abilities were sparked, and Wigginton was able to teach them the basics of English and Journalism at the same time they were learning about the local folk culture. The results of this remarkable educational experiment are the subject of The Foxfire Book (1972), which includes an introduction by Wigginton describing how the project came about; other Foxfire books have appeared since. These books have special application for teachers in Southern Ohio where a culture similar to Appalachian exists, but its application is not limited to Appalachia since the educational principles behind the book are valid in any region. Ohio has its own Foxfire project in the Thistledown program at Watkins Memorial High School in Pataskala (43062). David Nungesser started the program at Pataskala, and his students have been producing a fine magazine on area folklife, oral history, and traditions for several years.

Another valuable educational source is Jan Brunvand's On the Teaching of American Folklore which is an instructor's manual for his textbook, The Study of American Folklore: An Introduction. The Manual is available free to teachers from the publishers, W. W. Norton and Company, 55 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., 10003. The manual is useful for both college and high school courses. An article in Brunvand's The Study of American Folklore, J. Barre Toelken's "The Folklore of Academe," is quite effective in revealing the kinds of folklore existing on college campuses; in fact, in some folklore classes this is assigned at the beginning of the course so that students will become aware of their own folklore.

High school and college students are usually excited by the collecting and study of folklore. When they are collecting from other students, it is exciting because they are seeing themselves in a new light and at the same time they are dealing with something familiar and accessible. Teachers can use folk materials in many ways, but one of the most important is to gain a better understanding of their own students. Thus, the teacher can collect directly from students or have the students collect from each other; either way new educational possibilities are opened up in and out of the classroom.

There are many kinds of folklore associated with this age group, but certain types stand out as being especially reflective of their concerns. One surprising area is superstitions. Most people associate superstitions with the uneducated, but in actuality superstitions are found at all levels of society and education. The most important factor is the element of chance or uncertainty, not the amount of education. Superstitions arise in those areas of life which have greater degrees of uncertainty. This is why card players are notoriously superstitious; the element of chance is seemingly controlled by following certain rituals---shuffling the cards three times, looking at your cards one at a time, and so forth. There are many areas of uncertainty in a teenager's life and a corresponding number of superstitions, rituals and magic devices. Sports is one area where this occurs: a player will wear his favorite lucky sweater to insure good luck, a baseball player will touch third base everytime he runs to the dugout at the end of an inning, or a basketball player will always bounce the ball three times before he takes a foul shot. Another area of uncertainty in a student's life is examinations. To insure good luck on an exam students will use a favorite pen, sit in a particular desk, anything to give them a sense of security---especially if they have not studied adequately.

Teenagers probably have more uncertainty over dating and relations with members of the opposite sex. As might be expected, there are a myriad of folk beliefs expressive of this concern. Some of them seem to be equivalent to modern "love potions" such as putting salt in someone's shoes to insure his undying love. Another belief involves a ritual of walking on the same side of a telephone pole or post to avoid bad luck or the spliting up of the couple involved.

> A friend of mine told me this a couple of years ago, while walking down the street. He said don't split the pole, and he said that if you walk down the street and walk on the opposite side of a pole it brings bad luck.
>
> (Collected from a teenager in 1972 in Columbus.) My informant said that he "sort of believes it." I have heard a similar version. When my mother and I used to walk holding hands if a pole came between us and we were forced to drop hands she would say "bread and butter" as a conversion ritual to get rid of the bad luck. This could also mean a symbolic separation from the one you are walking with.

There are many devices for making wishes often involving a boyfriend or girlfriend. If you find a loose eyelash on someone's face, take it between thumb and finger and each person makes a wish and guesses thumb or finger. If you guess which the eyelash sticks to when you separate them, your wish will come true. A popular wishing device for girls occurs when the clasp on a necklace slides around to where the pendant hangs:

> Make a wish when the necklace clasp gets down to where the pendant hangs. But it has to touch. It can't just be near there; it has to touch the pendant or your wish won't come true.
>
> (Collected from a seventeen year old girl from Jefferson in 1973.) She always does this, and that surprised me because I didn't know she practiced superstitions. I asked her if she wishes on anything else and she told me she always wishes on stars. She added, "I do a lot of wishing." She has a strong belief in God, so her wishes are half wishes, half prayers. She is concerned about boyfriends and love now, so wishing and prayers form an important part of her thoughts.

There are many more such magic folk beliefs among teenagers, and they are especially popular among girls who reinforce the beliefs because of their traditionally more open concern with romance.

Folk customs also arise as a result of concern over dating and sex. One custom that has been circulating for many years (since one of the authors was in junior high in the mid 1950's and probably longer) is the wearing of circular pins that were known as "virginity.pins." Supposedly if a girl wore one it was a sign that she was indeed a virgin:

> Virginity Pins-
>
> Oh yeah. Remember the circle pin? If you weren't a virgin, you wore a cresent or something, not a circle.
>
> (Collected from a twenty-one year old woman student at Ohio State in 1973.) Circle pins were very popular in junior high and early high school. I never knew that they had any particular meaning. I was reading Brunvand and in the section about customs I ran across the discussion of the virginity pin. I had never heard of such a thing. I asked Amy if she had ever heard of them. She said that the circle pin so popular in high school was an example of a virginity pin. I had several and wore them often, but to me they were just another piece of jewelry.
>
> Junior high and early high school aged people are very curious about sex. Their interest is just being awakened and they are exploring a whole new area of life. At this age just about anything can carry sexual connotations. There is a psychological function behind this custom connected to this new awareness. The thought process is at times dominated by the exploration of this new concept and this custom help keep sex in the foreground. It can be a subtle suggestion of sex or and overt display. Basically for those participating, it is a fun endeavor, like the old custom of wearing green on Thursday. Some people would wear it intentionally to cause a stir. Thus, the wearing or not wearing of the virginity pin becomes something of a game. (Brunvand, p. 201)

Another well-known custom is called "pididdle." If a boy sees a car with only one head-light, he yells out "pididdle" and gets to kiss the girl he is with. Of course, this tradition gives an excuse for kissing, if one is needed. These customs are learned from others in the same age group, and are passed on in a traditional manner going back years as witnessed by the fact that one student collected "pididdle" from a 19 year old friend and the collector's 48 year old father.

> A pididdle is a car with one headlight out. If you are driving with a girl and you see a pididdle, you are supposed to kiss her.
>
> (Collected from a nineteen year old student from Euclid in 1973.) This has a social function. He spoke like if a guy was having a hard time breaking the ice with a girl, this provided a good excuse. But it was also an excuse to use this behavior with any girl. A girl would be less likely to resist if she was assured that this was a tradition.

Many of these dating customs and beliefs are dropped in high school and college, but the legends which circulate among teenagers continue to be a strong part of college life. Many of the legends are unpleasant since they deal with anxieties of this age group, such as the anxieties of girls concerning rape and murder. Female babysitters alone in strange houses have many unspoken anxieties which come to be expressed in legends about murderers breaking into the house.

> Dr. Hargrove was a dentist who lived in a new suburb in South Cleveland. He had three children, a wife and a beautiful house in a wooded area. Although there was a large distance between homes, they got friendly with one family with a daughter who babysat for them. The girl's name was Tricia. Tricia was fifteen years old at that time and one night the Hargroves were going out with some other dentists and asked Tricia to sit. About 9:30 she was watching T.V. and the phone rang. All she heard was laughing. It happened again an hour later so she decided to call the operator and have it traced. The operator called back and told her to leave as fast as possible because the man was upstairs. When the police came, they found the three children strangled.
>
> (Collected from a twenty-one year old male college student from Cleveland in 1973.) Dennis claims this is a true story that he heard from Tricia's sister. He even changed the names because of this. Dennis said that Tricia is now 21, and has

> been in an institution for six years. The killer is supposedly a friend of Dr. Hargrove's who has a personal vendetta against him from the Korean War. Expression of fear of babysitters is definitely a function of this legend as it has been expressed in countless versions similar to this one.

This legend is usually totally believed by the girls who pass it on, and it has many local details and names to make it believable, but it has been collected in several areas and has not been verified as actually happening.

Another anxiety of teenage girls is being picked up while alone on the street. One bizarre story from Cleveland has the frightening description of a girl being attacked, and ends years later with the punishment of her attacker and the one who had covered up his crime.

> Susie was ten years old and in the fifth grade but extremely mature looking. One day she was walking home from school and a car pulled up and tried the usual thing of offering a ride. She refused. Finally he grabbed her, took her to a secluded area and told her to disrobe. She said no, and he said that she would get expelled because he was the principal's son. She still refused. He then ripped off her clothes and began to attack her. She fought and managed to get away, but he grabbed her. She fell and cut her throat on a rock. He got scared and left. Susie ran home and told her father. He went to speak to the principal who got indignant at the accusation. Nothing became of it until years later when Susie was 18. She saw the son in a bar and went up to him and asked if he remembered her. He said no, but then saw her scar and ran out of the bar. As he was running across the street he got hit by a car and killed. The driver of the car was his father.
>
> (Collected from the same college student as the previous example.) Dennis heard this story from a friend of Susie's sister. This happened three years ago on the west side of Cleveland. Both the principal and his son got their just desserts. The principal would not take action before, but without knowing, he does in the end. The son got his punishment as well. Susie got her justice even if it did take eight years. An obvious moral is of course, don't take rides from strangers.

Many of these stories function to give warnings and point morals: lock all doors and windows when you are babysitting alone, be careful of strange men while walking alone. Some of them warn of the dangers of parking. Since the automobile became widely accessible to teens, the practice of parking in isolated areas has become a common dating activity. Many legends point out the dangers of this by recounting violent horror stories. One of the most widespread is called "The Hook" and tells of a narrow escape by two parkers from an escaped mental patient (Linda Degh, "The Hook," Indiana Folklore 1(1968), 92-100). Another is "The Boyfriend's Death" in which there is no escape from the mad man so that the moral against parking is even stronger.

> I heard a story about a week ago from my science teacher. I forget whether he said it was true or not. OK, there was a girl and a boy driving down a dark road late at night and they ran out of gas. So the boy told the girl that he was going to go get some gas and he would be right back and to keep all the car doors locked and not to open them for anybody. So he told her that when he got back he would knock twice on the window, so that she would know that it was him.
>
> So time went by and it was getting later and later. Her boyfriend never came back. Finally she heard some scratching on the back of the car going scratch...scratch...scratch. Well, by this time, the girl was really getting scared, so she got down on the floor. She fell asleep still with the scratching going on.
>
> The next morning she was awakened by people pounding on the car. She looked up and there were police outside. So finally she opened up the door. The police told her to walk straight ahead and not to look back. She couldn't understand why she shouldn't look back. So she looked back and she saw her boyfriend hanging by the feet with his neck slit and his arm hanging down. The scratching was from the class ring on her boyfriend's finger.
>
> (At the beginning of the story I forgot to put in that there was a rapist on the loose!)
>
> (Collected from a fifteen year old girl from Columbus in 1973.) This particular story came to me in three different versions.

When Julie told this one, the class reacted favorably. She told her story first, with the lights down, and the use of her eyes and drawn-out "scratch...scratch...scratch" made it quite suspenseful. Apparently this legend is a common one, because I heard it in my home town, Cleveland.

There is also an implicit moral in these legends against pre-marital sexual relations.

Horror legends also deal with violent danger or death in a realistic way, others are supernatural and part of another kind of legend, the ghost story, which is not quite as readily believed today although usually some degree of belief is present. Ghost stories may also attach themselves to favorite parking places so that they perform the same function as some horror legends. There is a street in Columbus that is used by parkers on which is an unusual house and statue. The statue has given rise to a ghost story which may scare some, but itsoverall effect is to attract high school and college students to the street at night out of curiosity.

On the night of July 13, on a street called X about 12 years ago, there lived an old lady and her husband. On this particular night a nightmare took place. The old lady killed her husband with an axe and cut off his head. She took his body and buried it underneath a statue in her front yard.

One night when it was storming outside, the old lady heard some strange noises like something dripping, and someone moaning. She looked out her window and saw that the statue was overturned and its head was painted green. The next day she went outside and found blood on the ground where the statue was standing, and the grave she buried her husband in was dug up. His body was gone, and to this day has never been found. She thought at first that his body had been stolen, but she now realizes that her husband has come back to haunt her.

The house on the hill of X still stands and the old lady still lives there. The statue with the head of green still stands and the blood around the statue still remains.

(Collected from a fifteen year old girl in Columbus in 1973.) I received several versions of the haunted house of X. I am

> going to personally investigate the situation or at least drive by this house! About ten or twelve of my students have actually seen this house and all their stories are just a little different --perhaps by one detail. However, there are several common details. The statue, the head painted green, the oddness of the house. There are stories of lights going on and off and the lawn being mysteriously mowed and bills being mysteriously paid. The degree of belief was high on this one. My kids wanted me to lead an investigation on this house one night, but I must admit I chickened out!

Parking anxieties are relatively old among teenagers, but in a fast changing world, new anxieties arise and new legends crop up out of them. Since marijuana and hallucinogenic drugs have become fairly widespread among teenagers, horror legends about the consequences of drugs have come along. Many of them indicate that a person becomes irreponsible and irrational when on drugs, and can even commit murder without realizing it.

> There was this babysitter who was supposedly on dope. She was babysitting this little baby. She set the table so everything would be all ready when the baby's parents came home. After the parents had come home and eaten, the babysitter said they had eaten baked baby.
>
> (Collected from a sixteen year old girl from Grove City in 1972.) Pam said she heard this from her friends. Her friends claimed that it was in the newspaper. She does not think this is true because "any parents who would come home from going out, leaving a baby, would just not sit down and eat. If they cared any at all, they would have gone to see if it was all right." This legend also follows the pattern that if the story appeared in the newspaper it must be true. That is, the appearance of a story in a newspaper can reinforce the validity of a story just by it being mentioned, even if the comments are negative. Pam is also trying to rule out the possibility of anything like this situation happening. I suspect she uses dope herself and feels this story absurd.

When collecting legends from teenagers, it is very important to ascertain the degree of belief. If the person totally rejects belief in a story, it is more of a joke to him, but if he believes it totally, then it is more likely to express his own anxieties and affect his behavior. The full contextual information given with each of the examples in this chapter indicates how much more understandable the text of a story is with this kind of information. Also, it is important that you as a collector not influence the degree of belief by injecting your own opinion of the story. This type of legend will usually come out naturally in a general discussion of some of the activities---parking, babysitting, marijuana smoking---than by directly asking for the specific legends. But if a general discussion fails to turn up any legends, then one or two examples without details could be mentioned as a spark for getting more. Here again, it is probably easier for a peer group member to collect than it is for an older person.

Related to legends, but usually more localized and grounded in reality are anecdotes about local characters. Toelken mentions the variety of stories told by students about eccentric professors (The Study of American Folklore, pp. 319-321.); there are also many anecdotes about eccentric students---the greatest drinkers, exhibitionists, etc. Often these stories circulate within smaller social groups at a college or high school; fraternities are a good source of character anecdotes.

Legend of Dave L.

> Once, crazy Dave was taking a shower on the first floor, when Dewey came by with a glass of cold water and threw it on Dave thinking it was one of his pledge brothers. Dave immediately began chasing Dewey down the hall and out the front door, down the street until he caught Dewey across from City National Bank. He then proceeded to rub Dewey's face in the mud. This was typical of crazy Dave, running down the street with no clothes on. Greg also said Dave rode his motorcycle through a sorority house wearing only his underwear.
>
> Greg said Dave was a real wild man in the fraternity, constantly picking on the pledges and scaring the hell out of them. Greg also said he heard many more stories of crazy Dave during initiation week that really made him afraid to go through. He

was the type of character that was capable and willing to do anything at anytime.

(Collected from a twenty one year old student at Ohio State in 1972.) Greg said he believed the anecdote totally even though he did not see it actually happen. Dave L. has been a living legend in the fraternity, but has settled down and now has a wife, and is a member of the house God squad.

Greg also said that Dave is particularly famous for dumping a strawberry milkshake over a well-known Ohio State football player's head during his initiation.

Toelken also gives examples of folk songs popular among college students---obscene songs, drinking songs, fraternity songs. This type of song is also widespread in high school. They are not learned from books since they are often obscene, and they are passed on orally. In high school, they may be sung on buses by members of the band. They often are derogatory of principals and teachers and often express normally unacceptable behavior---drinking, using obscenities, etc.

Cheers, cheers for old Clear Fork High!
    Bring on the cocktails, bring on the rye!
Send the juniors out for gin,
    And don't let a sober SENIOR in, oh, lordy;
We never stagger, we never fall,
    We sober up on weed alcohol,
While our loyal faculty lies drunk in the study hall.
(sung to the tune of the Notre Dame fight song)

(Collected from four female students from Bellville, age twenty in 1973.) This song can be found in similar versions (found at Purcell High School, Cincinnati, Ohio). The word "SENIOR" is shouted by all seniors and the song is accompanied by clapping. The song is sung on the way to games to help raise spirits. It is a fun way to sing about drinking which every high school student supposedly wants to do but is not allowed to.

We are the Clear Fork girls; we wear our hair in curls;
    We wear our dungarees way up above our knees;
We are the biggest flirts; we wear our fathers' shirts;
    We'll go with any guy from Clear Fork High.

(Collected from the same group as preceding example.)
The tune to this song is the same as the song "Tra La La Boom De Aye." It can be seen in this song,as well as many of the others sung,that it was usually the girls who did the singing on the band bus. The origin of this song is not known and it is possible that variants at other schools can be found. This song was usually sung on the way to a game in order to start getting everyone's spirits up and was accompanied by clapping.

These examples are, of course, merely a limited indication of the breadth and depth of lore circulating among teenagers and college students. There are many more of these types plus other genres. They are indicative of the special concerns of this age group, and they are easily collected, especially by the students themselves.

Chapter 4: Teenage and College Folklore
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CHAPTER 5

OCCUPATIONAL FOLKLORE

Collecting from the working man or woman in Ohio can begin at home. Many of the folklore students at Ohio State compiled occupational lore by starting with their fathers, mothers, brothers, or sisters who were a part of some industrial group. It is difficult to walk into a factory, a mine, or a construction site and ask for folklore, but if you know someone there, or you are a part of the group, then the collecting task is much easier. You have a better idea of what to look for, and the suspicion surrounding an outsider is at least partially removed. If you do not know anyone on the inside, it is probably best to approach the group through an organization---a union or management.

As with any kind of collecting, knowing the background of the group and its lore is extremely helpful. A good starting point is the writing of Archie Green who knows labor lore in America both as a folklorist and a participant. In an article entitled "The Workers in the Dawn: Labor Lore" (in Our Living Traditions, edited by Tristram Potter Coffin, pp. 251-262), he stresses the importance of labor folklore to American culture, "...work continues to shape people's lives, and labor lore still holds the potential for enriching the American dream."

After gaining a general understanding of the working person's traditions, you should move on to the specific group in which you are interested. The selected bibliography at the end of this chapter will help you in this.

Four representative occupational groups in Ohio should give you an idea of what kind of folklore and folklife to look for. Railroaders, miners, construction workers and coppersmiths all have a group identity and a body of traditional lore. The railroads in America have a strong image in the popular imagination based partially on its folklore which exists both within and outside the group. The folk ballad "Casey Jones" is now known far and wide and is perhaps not as well known within the industry as it used to be, but there is still much lore being passed on among railroaders--folk speech, custom, folk rhymes, anecdotes and legends. Lynn Dawson, a folklore student who studied with Barry Ward at Ohio State University at Marion, started collecting railroad folklore in 1973 from her husband who was a fireman and an engineer before going to work for a labor organization which represents railway employees. Railroading was a family tradition; his father also worked for the railroad. This inside start led Mrs. Dawson to other railroad workers--engineers and conductors, and she compiled a fine collection of railroad lore. Her own general contextual information provides an excellent introduction to her collection as well as illustrating the value of background material in understanding items of folklore.

> The days of the steam engine are the "good old days" or the "Once upon a time" for railroaders. It is the time that most people think of when you ask them for stories about the railway industry. These were the days when an engineer had his own engine and took great pride in it. The engineer was lord and master of his engine and also enjoyed considerable status in his community during this period in railroad history. Consequently, most engineers were proud men. This is no longer felt to be the case by railroaders.
>
> Until the 1950's the railroads maintained their own dormitories and restaurant facilities at each terminal. The "bunkhouse" was the place for swapping stories among railroaders on adjoining divisions. It was also the location for many practical jokes to be played and the stories of these spread from one division to another at the bunkhouses up and down the railroad. The future dissemination of railroad lore may be hampered by the fact that the men now stay in motels with separate rooms and eat in restaurants, seldom seeing the other members of their own crew or crews from other divisions.

Most occupational groups will have a terminology of its own which makes up a form of folk speech. There will usually be terms for equipment or processes which are an esoteric part of the occupation. Railroad workers use terms which might have different meanings to the general public but which have very specific meanings for them; two such words are "night crawler" and "highball."

> Night crawler - an expression used for a long drag (lengthy train) operated at night.
>
> (This item and the following five were collected from a thirty-five year old railroad worker from Marion by his wife in 1973.) There are so many expressions such as this connected with the railroading industry that one could do an extensive collection utilizing them. In fact it is difficult to discuss the industry without knowledge of its slang and terminology.
>
> Highball - an expression used by nearly all operating employees on the railroad. As used today it means a general signal to proceed. It may be given by hand, electric block, or verbally. Some use it in their everyday language to mean they are in a hurry.
>
> ---
>
> This expression came from a practice utilized before automatic electric block signals came into use. A large ball was attached to one end of a rope. When the tower operator pulled the rope the ball would be raised to the top of a pole beside the track and the engineer would know he had a clear track ahead and he could proceed with safety to the next signal.

There are also customs within the industry that might seem bizarre to those outside, such as the traditional practice of hiring men with missing fingers because this was an indication of experience.

> It has been said that in the old steam engine days when you went to hire out on the railroad you had a better chance of being hired if you had some fingers missing. This indicated to the railroad that you had some experience in the railroad industry.
>
> ---
>
> I believe this is an example of custom or traditional practice based in faulty reasoning. The rationale being: missing fingers indicated experience, experience makes a man a better employee.

In truth the fingers could have been lost in some way other than railroading. Also, the point could be made that missing fingers could indicate carelessness on the part of the employee. He would not be a better employee than a man with ten fingers. Using the railroad's reasoning, it could be said that a man with three or four fingers missing would be a better employee than a man with one finger gone and finally to the absurd point that a man with ten fingers missing would be a better man than a man with no fingers missing.

My husband does not believe this custom is practiced today. He tells it mainly to point up the lack of safe working conditions in the earlier days of railroading.

The concepts of the different jobs within railroading are reflected in the folklore; the conductor's view of his job as opposed to the engineer's is seen in a traditional rhyme.

I cannot blow the whistle,
I cannot ring the bell,
But let the train jump the track,
And see who catches hell.

Train crews (brakemen, flagmen and conductor) recite this rhyme to point out the irony of the conductor's position with regard to authority over a train. The engineer claims to be the "boss" and he is indeed responsible for getting the train safely over his division of the railroad. However, under the rules the conductor has equal responsibility with the engineer and when any serious problem, such as a derailment occurs, the conductor is held equally responsible for explaining what happened.

Narrative folklore will spring up within most occupations, usually in the form of anecdotes and legends about eccentric workers, interesting incidents, or narrow escapes. Some of these stories are rooted to a particular locale because they are tied to a specific character known in that area. Such a story is "How 'Sorry Adam' Got His Name," a local character known only on one railway line.

How Sorry Adam Got His Name

Adam came to this country at the turn of the century from

Germany. He became financially successful and at one time he owned as many as forty apartment units and lived in a $50,000 house. In spite of this he worked in shirts with ragged, cut off shirt sleeves and carried his coffee in a pint whisky bottle which he warmed by placing it near the exhaust manifold of the engine. Adam has been quoted many times as having said, in his heavily accented voice that there's too much foreign element in this country. All of these things coupled with his inability to be a good engineer made him less than one of the boys.

This nickname "Sorry Adam" came about because of his lack of ability as an engineer. He was plagued with one break-in-two after another and after each he would write a note to the supervisor explaining the reason for his failure and sign it, Sorry, Adam.

Mr. Dawson has worked with Adam and has witnessed the use of the whisky bottle to carry coffee, but his information about the writing of notes to the supervisor was told to him by other employees.

Adam was never really accepted as member of the in-group on the railroad and most comments about him are rather derogatory in nature. Larry believed that Adam was the type person who would do such a thing.

"Don't Leave Me, John," on the other hand, is a traveling anecdote told among railroaders as true in several parts of the country, and each time it would attach itself to a local person.

"Don't Leave Me, John"

Enroute between Kent, Ohio and Marion, Ohio a freight train developed trouble and flagman O'Grady's train was stopped. Flagman O'Grady was a new employee and the conductor got off the caboose to make a visual inspection of the train. Before leaving he told flagman O'Grady, "Don't leave me, John." After repairing the damage, he gave the engineer a signal to depart and started to walk back toward the caboose.

The speed of the train began to increase and he realized that it it would be necessary for flagman O'Grady to apply the brakes from the caboose to slow down the train for him to board. As the speed increased and the caboose approached the conductor, he began to shout, "Don't leave me, John." The caboose passed at a speed too fast for the conductor to board and on the other side of the tracks stood flagman O'Grady. As the caboose sped out of sight, leaving John and the conductor standing in the middle of nowhere, the conductor could only say, "Well, John, you didn't leave me."

When Larry heard this story about John O'Grady he believed it to be true. He says if you had ever met John you would know why the story could be accepted as truth. In subsequent years he has heard other versions of this tale from people connected with railroads in other parts of the country and realizes that it is indeed a folktale of the railroading industry.

The tale is told and enjoyed by any railroader that has experienced the anxiety of the thought of being left standing in the middle of nowhere watching the caboose of his train speed out of sight.

Miner's folklore contains a lot of material known not only to miners all over the country, but also known in other occupations. For instance, the mining superstitions about women in the mines bringing bad luck and rats in the mine being a sign of disaster are also found among fishermen and other sea-faring men except that boats are the taboo areas.

There's rats down in the mines, and if the roof's going to fall, they'll leave before it happens.

This is the miner's variation of the "rats always desert a sinking ship" motif. It seems to be as widespread and as easily believed. Daddy said he had never seen it happen, but had heard other miners talk about it.

They say women are bad luck in the mines, and if one happens to go in, the men will refuse to work.

This is a sister superstition to the saying that women on ships are bad luck. Mining is a very hazardous occupation, and anything slightly out of the ordinary would be expected to be a bad omen.

A student collected these folk beliefs in 1973 from her father, a forty-three year old ex-miner, and her thirty-nine year old mother, both from Centerburg, indicating again the ease with which an occupational collection can begin at home. She also collected from a retired miner who gave her beliefs and tales. Often it is easier to interview a retired person about his occupation because he has more time and enjoys reminiscing about the traditions of his job. One of the stories told by the retired miner concerns the prejudices which the miners felt against outsiders who came to work in the mines, especially against recent European immigrants.

> There was two Italians hired to work in the mines, and they'd never worked in the mines before, you know. The boss asked them if they could shoot coal, and they said, yes, they could. And the next morning, the boss heard bang, bang, bang, and he went up there, and there was them two Italians, with two pistols, shooting right into the face of the coal.
>
> (Collected from a sixty-four year old retired miner from Chesterville in 1973.) "Shooting coal" involves drilling holes in the face of the wall of coal, placing the dynamite properly, pushing the caps into the dynamite, attaching the fuse of proper length, and setting it off. It was a much more complicated process years ago, for the holes had to be drilled by hand with a sort of awl, but today they have machines which drill several holes at once. This is a numskull story, involving following directions literally. It is a brother of the Pat and Mike stories, but Tom said they were Italians, not Irishmen, in this tale.

These stories function to reinforce group identity by excluding those who do not belong. A related kind of folklore is the practical joke which is pulled on new workers in the mine.

> A new man, they usually send him after a belt stretcher, a cable stretcher, or a dick stretcher. They send him back in the mine somewhere and he gets lost. They really screw over a new guy bad.
>
> (Collected from a twenty-one year old miner from Winterset in 1973.) None of the things listed above exist, but a new guy doesn't know any better so he goes after them.

These jokes put the newcomer in the position of an outsider, and at the same time give the group a sense of solidarity because they are in on the joke.

Not surprisingly, other occupations have similar folklore. In the construction industry, new workers are sent to look for non-existent tools.

> Well you tell the guy that your head joints are coming out too thin so you send him down to your tool bag to get your joint stretcher. While he's down there looking for the damm thing, you get everyone to start hollering for their own joint stretcher. Pretty soon he gets so flustered he'll bring damn near anything up just to see what the hell a joint stretcher is.
>
> (Collected from a male bricklayer, age twenty-three in Columbus in 1973.) Another joke, like the well wheel joke, that is intended simply for entertainment rather than humiliation. Again the joke hinges on the naivety of the new man and the comradery of the regular crew. Since there is no such tool as a joint stretcher, the man has no chance to turn the tables on his tormentors.
>
> This particular joke and the well wheel and rope joke are particularly functional for Jeff. Being the youngest man on the crew and yet holding an authoritative position he has a constant need to assert his position. Not necessarily for his own ego as much as for the welfare of the particular job. Every new man must realize Jeff's position as the legitimate boss. Traditionally this may have been done by a show of strength or actual physical violence but in this case all that is needed is for Jeff to score some sort of small victory of wits over the new man. Instantly several points become clear to the man. Jeff is the man who gives the orders, he is in close association with the other men and he is knowledgeable about his trade (at least to the extent that he knows there are no joint stretchers).
>
> It is hard to say what it is about human nature that makes a man go off looking for something that he is sure exists but doesn't have any idea of what it may look like. Among laborers, there is always the stigma of stupidity, of flaunting one's stupidity in front of everyone by admitting that you don't know what a "joint stretcher" is. Instead, the man tramps off, somehow assured that he can recognize the tool if he lays eyes on it. If the man returns with some other tool there will be a great amount of chiding and ridicule awaiting him for being so stupid. If, on the other hand, he returns to admit that he can't find

> it because he doesn't know what it is the bricklayer will usually put on an elaborate display of disgust with the stupidity of these "young kids." Either way the laborer stands to be the butt of the joke until he becomes part of the "regular crew."

Of course, once a novice has been put through the joke, he becomes a part of the group and can pull the joke on the next newcomer, so that the custom becomes a kind of initiation ritual.

Construction workers have a strong identity as "hard-hats," and their lore reflects their pride. Each craft will have its own lore as well as some shared with others. One student did a collection project based on one craft within the industry, bricklayers. They have their own terminology and even their own proverbial sayings using the terms.

> This hod looks like the cat's been shittin' in the sand.
>
> (Collected from the same young bricklayer.) This is a veritable classic among masons. I have heard it, or various clever variations of it, from almost every bricklayer I've worked for. Jeff heard it originally from his father and uses it now as part of the jargon of his occupation.
>
> This may be an especially cryptic item for the layman. "Hod" is the term used to refer to mortar, specifically a limited amount of mortar either in the mixer or on the mortar board and ready for use. Hod originally referred to the implement used for carrying mortar on a man's back, but semantic change has transferred the meaning to the mortar itself now that the hod has become nearly obsolete. Mortar is composed of specific quantities of cement, sand and lime, mixed together by the bagful and shovelsful in a mixer.
>
> The proverbial comparison above is used to refer to the lumpy quality of a batch of mortar that has been mixed with lumpy sand. This "lumpiness" is especially infuriating to a bricklayer as it makes his work unusually bothersome. To express his exasperation at such a situation he will use the above comparison in a sort of general, matter-of-fact way that is a signal to the experienced laborer that the mortar is unsatisfactory. To the inexperienced or uninitiated it is perplexing and embarrassing. The comparison is cryptic enough that it serves to separate the professional from the amateur and establish the former's superiority. It can also be used to intimidate those persons who are least in favor with a particular crew, i.e., students or inexperienced minority group workers.

> Of course, the original comparison depends upon the fact that cats generally prefer sand to hard packed earth and that the result of this preference---the sand is liable to be lumpy!

The job of the collector is to gather all data necessary to making the lore understandable to persons outside the group; the student who collected this does this quite well in his contextual information for the proverbial comparison. The student also collected several narratives which reveal the workingman's attitude toward authority whether it be the foreman or an outside inspector. In these stories the workingman gets the best of the authority figure through wit, trickery, or strength.

> This happened a long time ago with some guy up in Chicago, I think. I don't remember exactly who was running the job, but I know that one of the city inspectors would come out every day and crawl in the boiler where the men were working and start measuring the thickness of the Plibrico wall they were putting in. It was a big lining, maybe five or six thousand boxes, and this character would come every day and keep measuring to be sure they were putting enough Plibrico down. Well, the bricklayer foreman got pretty pissed-off at this guy and one day, when the inspector had laid his tape down on the wall to light a cigarette, this Irish foreman comes right along and pounds Plibrico right over the guy's tape. Well, the inspector is naturally pretty mad, but that big Irishman looks down at him and says (with appropriate Irish accent) "Hell, I just got so carried away trying to do it right that I couldn't stop!" Well, I guess the inspector had other tapes, but he never came back until the job was finished.
>
> (Collected from a forty-nine year old sales executive from Cleveland who used to be a construction worker.) This is the type of story that is a delight to the workingman's mentality. It represents a moral victory of the worker over the authoritative figure, in this case a city government figure, but it works the same way with the boss or even a foreman.
>
> The fact that my father still tells this story or a variation of it today is representative of his tradition as a worker. A man that started in management and never worked in the field would not be inclined to tell a story that sees his character bested by

> a common laborer. These stories are common among workers everywhere, and they normally follow a pattern that sees the authority figure as a bothersome or ignorant character coming in conflict with a representative worker (notice the "Irish foreman") who is trying to do his job in a conscientious fashion. The result of this conflict is always the demise of the authority figure. Interestingly enough, the victory is usually not physical, that is, the worker seldom smacks the boss along-side his head with a shovel. Instead, the victory is realized by the worker's extreme attention to the wishes of the authoritarian. In this case, the inspector certainly wanted the wall formed quickly and properly, which is just what the Irishman contends he was doing. What the foreman did was obey his orders to the extreme, to such an extreme that it meant the humiliation of the man who gave the orders.
>
> This story also has many variants. In some cases it takes the form of a tradesman questioning (always in a polite manner) some detail on the blueprint. The boss is brash and ignorant and commands that the blueprint be followed exactly. The command is carried out and the building comes out in the wrong lot or with no doors or some other deficiency. The result of not heeding the wisdom of the worker.

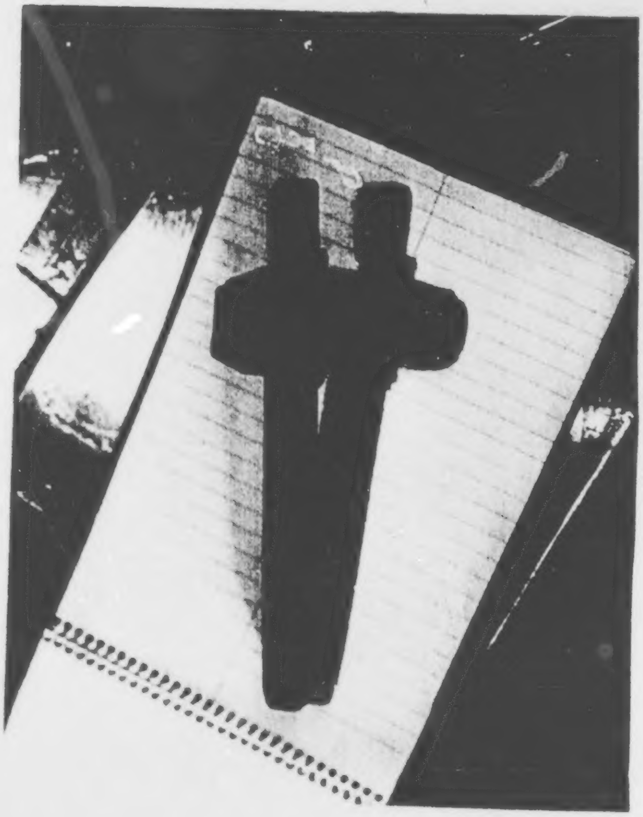
Understandably, oral traditions are of more concern to the folklorist dealing with highly mechanized occupations such as mining, railroading, and construction work. Material culture traditions are equally important, however, especially when examining the handcraft processes. The term "folk technology" can be misleading, although not yet to the degree as the much abused word "craft." If we take folk technology to mean those trades which depend primarily on hand skills to produce finished articles, skills passed from one generation to the next through instruction and example, it is possible to limit our focus of inquiry. In speaking of folk technology, we tend to think of "survivals"--survivals of skills that flourished before, and were superceded by, the Industrial Revolution. These crafts were often, but not always, practiced in shops in which, through a formal system of apprenticeship, a young worker gradually rose to the level of skilled craftsman as he watched and listened to his elders. Few such shops exist today. Many young people, in an attempt to return to a simpler life, have engaged in such activities as leatherworking and pottery, but the word "return" is important here. They have not grown out of the craft tradition but have learned their skills from literature and formal instruction---the popular or mainstream culture that is highly self-conscious. To be sure, traditional craftsmen still flourish in Ohio, and a number of them participated in the 1971 Festival of American Folklife sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution.

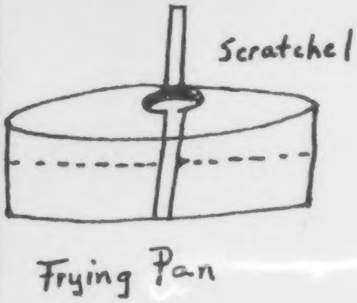
One traditional shop still flourishes in Bucyrus---the Picking Copper Kettle Works. Started in 1873, the Copper Kettle Works still produces copperware in the traditional manner---shaping a copper sheet by hand into a piece of hollowware. Although some of the hammers have been electrified, this has in no way altered the process, merely speeded it up. The main work force belongs to one family; the sons have learned from their father who in turn was taught by a senior man in the shop many years ago. Although they divide the labor, creating something of a modest assembly line, each man is entirely capable of producing a complete product from beginning to end. The original craftsmen were Pennsylvania German coppersmiths who stamped the shop with their particular tradition---two piece copperware, rather than the English three piece design.

In documenting a shop such as this, the researcher needs both camera and sketch pad to record the kind of tools, how they are used, and where they are located. What are the exact processes involved in the fabrication of a product? Do the workers have special reasons for doing it that way---or is it simply "The way it has always been done?" What changes, conscious and unconscious, have occurred over time? Is it possible to compare the processes of this shop to other known studies and documentations? (A little known book on coppersmithing published about the time the Picking shop was doing peak business, proved an invaluable means of comparing present techniques to earlier practices. There were few changes.) What adaptations have been made and why---changing markets, different raw materials? Who comprises the market (that is, the "audience"), and how have they influenced the product being made? The craftsmen are as important as the process itself. How have they learned their skills? Do they still do things in a traditional way in spite of knowledge of "better" or faster methods? See the following illustrations for examples of a traditional tool and one step in the traditional process.

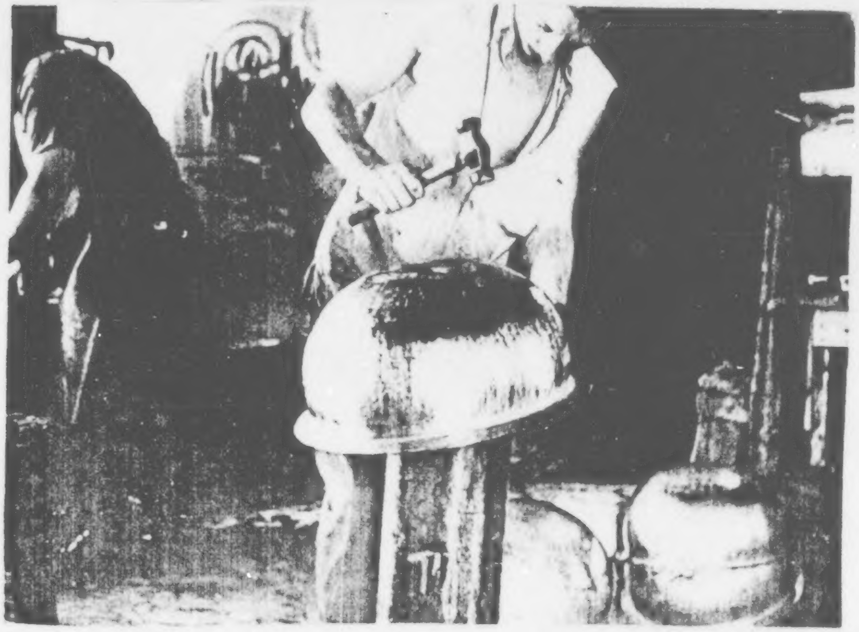
The "scratchel," a home-made tool designed for a very specific function---to mark off the correct height of the side of a frying pay. Mr. S. Says simply that he "made it a long time ago." The protruding nail at the right end of the tool scribes a circle around the copper side. The wood brace is covered with a piece of copper.

Approx. 8½" long; round brace approx. 3½"diameter.





This is a candy kettle that is receiving a final hand planishing with a planishing hammer over a rounded stake. After planishing, the extended lip will be turned over a supporting iron ring. With the addition of handles, the kettle is finished. Planishing is the most skilled activity in the fabrication of copperware.



There are many more occupational groups in Ohio which have traditional lore. This is true not only of the older ones such as mining and railroading, but also of new jobs in industry. Even assembly line workers at automobile plants have their own jokes, anecdotes and folk speech. The examples of railroading, mining, construction working and coppersmithing are representative, but there are undiscovered kinds of folklore in modern industry because it is a neglected area of research.

Chapter 5: Occupational Folklore
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CHAPTER 6

FOLKLORE OF THE GENERAL POPULATION

Folklorists have usually considered the concept of a folk group as part of the definition of folklore. One of the most recent attempts at re-defining folklore mentions "small group" as part of the definition (Dan Ben-Amos, "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context," Journal of American Folklore, 84 (1971), 12). The preceding chapters have all been based on a folk group, the family, the children's group, the teenage group and the occupational group. However, there is a body of contemporary folklore which transcends these group boundaries and circulates widely among the general population. The transmission of this mass lore is often aided by electronic media--television, radio, and phonograph records --and by newspapers and magazines. The lore is spread very quickly throughout the United States because oral and media transmission speed up the process.

When expressive culture is transmitted widely through the media, folklorists usually term it popular culture as opposed to folk culture which is limited to a smaller group and transmission by word of mouth. These distinctions are valuable because the characteristics of the expression change when passing from one to the other, but there are areas between folk and popular culture which should be considered by folklorists because of the undeniable folk characteristics of the material. Media today is so pervasive that it is hard to find any "pure" products of oral transmission. Such folk song scholars as D. K. Wilgus and Archie Green recognize this, and they have done valuable studies on the interrelationship of recorded "hillbilly" music and folk music. Blues music today is also a mixture of folk and popular elements; one of the authors recorded a street blues singer in Beaumont, Texas, who sang traditional folk blues plus songs performed on record and radio by such popular singers as Little Richard and James Brown. Anyone interested in collecting folk song today should keep this in mind and be familiar with the scholars working in the area of recorded music and orally transmitted music. The collector of folk songs should know when his informant is singing a tin pan alley song heard on records and when he is singing an ancient ballad learned from his grandfather because both kinds of songs are likely to be a part of a singer's repertoire.

Another kind of contemporary folklore which is affected by mass media is the modern legend. Legends are narratives which are believed to some degree by the people who tell them, and there are many such tales circulating all over the country today. People do not think of these as folklore because they believe that the incidents described actually happened, and many times the claim is made that it has been verified in the newspaper. These tales may start out as rumors, but when they develop a full narrative structure then they must be considered legends. The origin of most is unclear, but since they are based on contemporary situations, it must be assumed that many of them have sprung up recently although some also contain traditional motifs.

A recent example is about a fast food chain which specializes in fried chicken. A student mentioned in class one day that he had heard that someone had discovered a dead rat in a box of fried chicken. This statement was more a rumor than a legend. About a year later a student turned in another version which established a full story indicating the detailed circumstances of the supposed incident:

> A lady and her family stopped at a Kentucky Fried Chicken store for dinner before going to a drive-in movie. They got the chicken and went to the movie. The lady took a bite of the chicken and it tasted funny. She turned on the light, took off the breading, and inside was a dead rat!
>
> (Collected from an Ohio State student in 1973.) My girlfriend just got back from Hawaii and this is the big rumor over there.

> My friend's sister, who lives in Hawaii, told her this. Both totally believed it and vowed never to eat the Colonel's chicken again. The lady was personally known by a friend of a friend of a friend of a friend of a friend who told Margie's sister the story.

Since that time students have reported similar detailed stories from several places in Ohio, and the same story could be found throughout the United States.

A similar legend is about a snake discovered in material at a fabric store or discount store.

> You know, I read in the paper a while back, that a sales clerk was bitten by a snake that had curled up in a bolt of fabric. It was in one of those big fabric stores right here in Columbus and she was helping a customer. I guess she stuck her hand in a bolt of fabric and the snake bit her, except she didn't know it was a snake; she thought it was a pin prick. That night after work she got really sick and they had to take her to the hospital and the doctor told her it was a snake bite. Well, she just couldn't understand where she had gotten bitten by any snake and she just started thinking back over the day, thinking about where she could have gotten it. Then, she suddenly remembered the pin in the bolt of fabric and when she went to work the next day, they opened up the bolt of fabric and there was this snake with all these babies with it! Really, it's a true story! I read it in the paper!

> I work at a fabric store in Columbus and a lady came in the other day (September 10, 1972) with this version. This lady was really into this story. She really thought she scared me with it and just swore that it was a true story. It was all I could do to keep from laughing right in her face. I didn't want to discourage her, but she was so serious and dedicated to telling the story that I think even if I had laughed, she would have stayed there and tried to convince me to be on the lookout for mama snakes.

This one has travelled widely, being reported in Columbus; Buffalo, New York; Washington, D. C.; Houston, Texas, and so forth. The details of the story change--the name of the store, the material the snake is found in, the kind of snake-- but the basic narrative and the total degree of belief remain the same. The lady who told this particular variant reports, "I read it in the paper." This does not prove that it is true because newspapers often report rumors and then disclaim them, but the fact that it was "in the paper" tends to verify stories in the popular imagination. We have seen the snake story printed in four different newspapers with a disclaimer, but instead of squelching the story, these accounts usually encourage its wider dissemination.

It is usually easy to collect modern legends. You should be familiar with as many tales as possible ahead of time. (See the bibliography at the end of this chapter to find more examples.) If you cannot get people to tell legends by giving a general description of what you are looking for, then you can mention a specific legend without telling the entire narrative. Perhaps the best way to collect modern legends is to wait until they occur spontaneously as the student who collected the snake legend did. This gives a better idea of the kind of context in which the legend usually occurs. Besides the modern legends which have already been recorded, collectors should be looking for new material since it is continually being created.

The joke is another form of folklore which is not bound by group lines. Richard M. Dorson in American Folklore gives one of the best general descriptions of the pervasiveness of modern American jokelore.

> ...no one has pointed out that the twentieth-century American is a tremendous storyteller and story-listener. He specializes in jokes, snappy and drawn-out, lily white and darkly off-color. They cover the major themes of modern life--religion, politics, business, as well as sex--and they are told incessantly, in private parties and at public gatherings. All age groups and both sexes relish jokes. At social get-togethers, old friends loyally tell each other the latest good one, and new acquaintances break the ice with a gag. One funny story automatically evokes another, and the swap session

> is under way: in the office, the car pool, the Pullman smoker, the convention hotel, at the cocktail party, the lodgé luncheon, the church supper. (p. 245)

Because of the widespread popularity of jokes, they should be easy to collect, but certain problems can arise because of the sensitive nature of some of the content. For instance, it might be difficult for a woman to collect obscene jokes from a group of men who ordinarily would not tell a "dirty joke" in mixed company. It might be difficult to collect ethnic slur jokes from a group if you are an outsider; they would not be sure if the insults were acceptable to you. If you are familiar with the sensibilities of a group concerning attitudes toward obscenity and ethnic prejudices this will greatly facilitate collecting from them. As in many other cases, it may be best to start collecting jokes from your own family and friends.

There are innumerable kinds of jokes circulating in Ohio today, and we only have space to discuss a few of the popular types. The ethnic slur is very popular, and since they depend on the degradation of a particular ethnic group, some might not think it appropriate to collect and study them. Our view is that by openly collecting and analyzing such slurs we can better understand the nature of prejudice, thereby coming closer to ridding ourselves of it. The ethnic joke can be applied to any minority, but of the hundreds turned in for folklore classes at Ohio State, most attack Polish and Italian.

Ethnic jokes often make fun of the dialect of a recent immigrant and the misunderstanding of American customs and institutions. One long joke about Italians depends for its humor on the dialect and the misunderstanding of a baseball game.

Baseball. . . . as Tony saw it!

I go by soma place wheres a beeg boarda fence. I see onea guy backa da leetle hole and he maka plenty da mon. I go up and aska whota go on insides. He tella me da ball game. I aska how moocha cost? He say seeksa beets. I geeva heem da seeksa beets and go in deesa place. Insides was some beeg long seet for seet down by some beega high cheeken wires fence. On da other sides was a some high board fence whosea tella in beeg words, "Fatima Chewing Gum" and "Spearmint Cigarettes."

One guy he coma out what has gotta da boxing glove on just one hand and da dog muzzle on hees face. I aska da fella whot seeta by me, "Whosa dot one?" He tella me, "Heesa da Catch."

One guy coma out whot has gotta leetle boxing glove on just one hand and heesa no gotta da dog muzzle ona hees face. I aska da fella who seeta by me, "Whosea dat one?" He tella me, "Heesa da Pitch."

Well, deesa pitch I no like. Heesa gotta some round leetle thing wots hard likea Hell. He taka one hand, . . .spit on, ... wipe hees ass, . . . wind um up and throw like heesa shoota straight for da catch.

But deesa catch, heesa smarta guy. He usa da boxing glove for stop and he trow back like heesa no mad. But deesa God damn pitch, . . . heesa mad. Heesa spit on hees hand oncea more, . . . wind um up,. . . wipe hees ass and trow like Hell. And da catch, . . . heesa trow back like heesa no wanna fight.

Den was soma guy come out wot heesa all dress up. He tink was Sunday or heesa gonna someplace, . . . I dunno. I aska da fella wot seeta by me, "Whosea dat one?" He says, "Jeez Christ, . . . wotsa matt, . . . you no learna dees game?" I tink dees guy heesa mad too,. . . I dunno. Anyway, he tella me deesa guy umpire man.

Well, da umpire man and dat God damn pitch he talk a leetle bit. I think maybe heesa come down and botha fighta da catch. I no like dees.

Den one guy come out wot gotta da beeg longa steek. He stan up fronta da catch. Dat pitch, . . .heesa mad like Hell, now. Heesa speet on ball, . . . wind um up, . . . wipe hees ass and trow like Hell. But dat guy pusha da stick, . . . da ball geeva crack like Hell and Jeez Christ, . . . heesa gone way off. Dat guy droppa da stick and run like Hell. He run three four, difference ways, so I tink heesa no know wheetcha way heesa go. An righta before heesa gotta where heesa start, da son-of-a-beetch, heesa fall down.

Dat umpire man heesa run over an yella, "Safe!" Safea Hel, . . . dat God damn fool, . . . heesa almost broke heesa neck.

So dees is bazzball! I no like. . .

(Collected from a fifty-eight year old, non-Italian business executive from Canton in 1973.) Mr. Hoover chuckled as he gave this to me. This he said, was his favorite story. He can narrate it perfectly without looking at the story on paper.

This joke is unusual in its length, but the person it was collected from had memorized the entire narrative. It also circulates in typed form with copies made on Xerox or other copying machines. This is a form of folklore dissemination which is important, but has not been widely studied. We have seen copies of visual ethnic jokes, obscene cartoons, parodies of Ann Landers letters, and fake welfare letters which have been passed around in this form. (see Alan Dundes and Carl R. Pagter. Urban Folklore from the Papework Empire, 1975.)

The "Pollack" joke is probably the most popular ethnic slur in America today, but the same basic jokes are applied to different groups depending on the local prejudices.

There was a bartender who had a standing joke with a Pollack who'd come into the bar everyday. He'd ask the Pollack "Hey, have you seen Ben?" And the Pollack would say, "Ben who?" Then the bartender would yell, "Bend over and kiss my ass!"

After several months of this, the Pollack was getting tired of being made a fool of, so he told a friend the story, and asked the friend how he might get even with the bartender.

The friend said, "Why, it's simple. Just ask him if he's seen Eileen."

The Pollack said, "Eileen?"

"Yeah," said his friend, "and when he says, 'Eileen who?' you say, 'I lean over and you kiss my ass.'"

So the Pollack was really happy, and went to the bar that afternoon. When he saw the bartender, he said, "Hey, have you

> seen Eileen?"
>
> And the bartender said, "Yeah, she just left with Ben."
>
> And the Pollack asked, "Ben who?"
>
> (Collected in 1973 from a twenty year old female college student from Canton.) The elaborate ethnic jokes are not as widely circulated as are the very simple ones. In a room of eight people, no one had heard this one before.

This joke which demeans the intelligence of Polish people could be told about any ethnic group for which this stereotype prevails. Another joke tells of a Pole's belief that he could walk on a beam of light.

> There was a Pollack fishing off the coast of Italy, when he lost his oars. It was getting pretty dark, and he was scared to be in strange waters, so he started calling to shore for some help.
>
> An Italian heard him, and said that he had a flashlight, and would shine the beam to the boat, and let the Pollack walk across it back to land.
>
> But the Pollack wouldn't hear of it.
>
> "Oh, no you don't, he said. "I'm not that stupid. When I get halfway out, you'll turn the flashlight off!"
>
> (Collected from a twenty year old female college student in 1973 in Columbus.) When the person representing the ethnic group in question denies stupidity, he invariably will say something in the context of the joke to incriminate himself further.

This same joke is also told in Southern Ohio about Kentuckians.

> There's a Kentuckian sitting on the Kentuckian side of the river and an Ohioan sitting on the Ohio side of the river fishing. The Ohioan was catching quite a few fish and the Kentuckian was catching none. And the Ohioan yelled, "Why don't you come over to this side of the river and fish?" The Kentuckian said, "I don't have a rope, I don't have a boat, and there ain't no bridge.

How would I get across?" The Ohioan said, "Well, I'll take my flashlight and shine the light across the water and you can walk across on the rays." The Kentuckian said, "You think I'm pretty dumb, don't you. I'll get halfway across and you'll turn the flashlight out."

This joke explains the non-thinking of the situation. The inability to walk across on the beams of light is compounded when he says that the other guy will turn the light out when he's half way.

Randy blew this joke in that he said rays. If he had said beams of light it would have been more acceptable, for beams has more than one meaning. (Clements, p. 23. (E7.13))

The ethnic slur can be applied to state groups in order to express inter-state rivalries. The Kentuckian and West Virginian jokes are widespread in the southern part of Ohio, and the same jokes are told as "hillbilly" jokes in urban areas of Ohio where Appalachian people have migrated. As with the European ethnic slur, they also express prejudices and stereotypes against a minority. The examples of Kentuckian jokes given here were collected by two different students in Portsmouth, Ohio, which is just across the Ohio River from Kentucky. The following examples give excellent contextual information and a brief analysis of the jokes.

Went to a place and they had these brains on top of the shelf, there. This guy went in and he asked the clerk about the different prices of them.

"Well, this one is from New York--$15.00."

"And how about the other one?"

"Well, that one is ten dollars. That's from Washington."

"How about that one up there? It looks nice and new."

"Well, that one is fifty dollars."

"Fifty dollars! Why is that?"

"That is from Kentucky and it's never been used."

> Did you hear about the two hippies and they were going to get married and they went to the priest. And they were really strange looking. And he goes, "O.K., which one of you is the bride?" And they go, "Man, we don't know what you're talkin' about."
>
> He goes, "Well, which one of you is the female?"
>
> And they go, "Well, we don't know what you're talkin' about."
>
> He says, "Well, let me put it this way." He goes, "Which one of you has a menstrual cycle?"
>
> And the guy looks at the girl and he goes, "Oh, it must be her. I ride a Honda."
>
> (Collected from a female student, age nineteen from Lima in 1973.) The teller identified with this joke, because she lived through the "hippie era." The joke comments on how the hippies liberalize the identification of sex, misunderstand the Establishment, and live informal lives. Because of her Catholic background, Sarida used a priest to represent the Establishment. The priest can't communicate with the hippies, and he's finally forced to come down to the simplest means of communication. Even in these simple terms the hippie doesn't communicate with the priest, and he interprets the words on a level that he understands.

This same joke brings in an element, the menstrual cycle, which is not usually mentioned in "polite society." In jokes all sorts of sexual references are permissable because of the joking context, and this perhaps explains the preponderance of "dirty jokes" found in our society. A mild example is the following joke about the little boy and the elephant but there are many more which would offend just about anybody.

> There's this circus. And there's this elephant trainer and he's got an elephant. And there's a crowd full of people. And he goes, "O.K. I'm going to give a thousand dollars to anybody in the audience that can make this elephant stand on its hind legs." And everybody just kind of sits there and a little eight year old kid raises his hand and he goes, "I can do it." The trainer goes, "Come on up, my boy." So the little boy walks up there and he kicks the elephant square in the balls. And the

elephant jumps up on his hind legs. And the elephant trainer goes, "Oh my god." So, he had to give the kid 1,000 dollars.

So four years later, same elephant trainer, same town, same circus. And the elephant trainer's changed his act a little bit, because he knows somebody can make the elephant stand up on his hind legs. He says, "I'll give a thousand dollars to anybody who can make this elephant shake his head yes and no." And so the 12 year old kid raises his hand and he goes, "I can do it." Little kid walks up there and he looks at the elephant. And he goes, "Elephant! Remember me?" and the elephant nods his head. "You want me to do that again?" And the Elephant shakes his head.

(Collected from the same person as the previous example.) She played the part of the boy very well. She demonstrated his kicking, and she showed how the elephant reared up. She showed no inhibitions about him kicking the elephant "square in the balls." The structure of this joke is interesting, because there are only two trials. And the situations are almost the same in both. It's long for an elephant joke, and the stress is on the other characters rather than on the elephant. It shows the lack of inhibition and the innocence of children. It is acceptable for a child to exert violence in sex. This is stressed by the boy being able to do what the trainer and the people in the audience couldn't do. Children often react to sex in a violent fashion, because society doesn't allow them to question it freely.

Obscene jokes should be collected for what they tell us about social-psychology; they reveal much more than the people who tell them realize. (See Gershon Legman, Rationale of the Dirty Joke.)

Traditional material culture is often obscured by the whims of popular culture. The most casual visitor to northwest Ohio cannot escape noticing the distinctive red brick farm houses that dominate the flat land. Built in a style that can be loosely described as Victorian Italianate, these large, often richly decorated homes seem to be anything but folk types, but research reveals that many are to some degree traditional in both form and construction. These houses were the subject of an intensive survey by a Heidelberg College student, a survey that perhaps would be helpful to describe in some detail.

This was one element of the larger "Sandusky River Basin Project" sponsored by the college, the purpose of which was to explore a geographical area from a humanities viewpoint.

While she was dealing with structures that combined both popular and folk elements, the student had to develop a methodology and series of questions that would be applicable to the study of any building. In studying the form of the houses, it was necessary, of course, to determine the floor plan. What were the building's dimensions; how many windows and how were they placed; where were the doors; how many floors; how many fireplaces and where were they located?

Problems of construction led to a number of fruitful discoveries. Many of the older residents in the area insisted that the bricks had been imported from the East, possibly as ballast in the boats that came down the Erie Canal. This is a good example of folk theory attaching itself to material culture. A number of brick buildings supposedly constructed with materials used as ballast are found throughout the country. Researchers at Colonial Williamsburg have been assured this was the case; Jared van Waganen recounts a similar theory in The Golden Age of Homespun, a book dealing with traditional practices in upstate New York; and the same story is offered on the placemat of St. Genevieve, Missouri restaurants that describe the history of "the oldest house west of the Mississippi." Despite the persistence of the theory there is usually little evidence to support it.

Yet the presence of several brick factories presently in the area would suggest that if the natural materials are available now, they were very probably used by early settlers as well. Diligent research into diaries and old construction documents bore this out --bricks were often fired on the sight of the new house. As with the "raising" of the house frame, firing the bricks amounted to something of a social activitiy including whole families who would make bricks for several buildings at a time. The bricks were formed in the traditional manner---mixing mud with salt, pouring the mixture into wood molds, letting the brick harden in the sun, and finally firing it in a kiln. Sun drying later gave way to a steam press method, and finally the modern brick factory took over. Somewhere along the way---possibly with the introduction of the steam press---the records suggest that professional brickmakers supervised the process, although the bricks were still fired on the sight.

Another significant structural feature of these homes is the use of the heavier log beam half-timber form of construction instead of the new balloon frame introduced in the 1830's. In seeking a reason for adhering to this more expensive means of building, the student researcher suggested that a strongly traditional feeling that this was simply the "right" way of building a sturdy house had prevailed---even if the building is following a "modern" floor plan suggested in a magazine.

> The builders of these houses were of a German stock and the huge rafters and beams represented to them the only type of structure that could be used to build a home for their sons and grandsons and not just a house for their present occupation. (Mary Ann Parr, Folk Patterns in Rural Domestic Architecture, Seneca County, Ohio. 1973, Heidelberg College Library Archives, Tiffin, Ohio. p. 18)

Between the customary inner and outer frame of these houses, the builders used filler---usually a mixture of dirt, hay and gravel. "This was mixed dry or with water and then 'daubed' in as filler before the inner wall was plastered." (Parr, Folk Patterns, p. 20)

The student researcher gradually evolved a methodology for her work which reflected the best in field work technique. Every house in a defined geographic area was visually surveyed, documented on a form, and photographed. Occupants were interviewed whenever possible; they in turn often suggested other contacts. Interviewing was at first something of a hurdle but quickly became one of the most enjoyable aspects of the study. Student researchers would often simply knock on the door of one of the homes and introduce themselves, always careful to show a news release on the project that had been put out by the college. They were usually welcomed then or invited back later---there were only a few cases of unfriendly receptions. Generally the interviewer would begin with a few general comments about the project. In many cases, owners would conduct a tour of the house and this led naturally to questions about floor plan, structure, etc. While the students were never armed with a formal questionnaire, they had in mind certain key questions concerning when and how the house had been built, the geographic origins of the builders, the nature of structural features and so forth. Local histories were consulted. Owners and workers in construction firms of long standing were also interviewed. Countless historic periodicals and builders' manuals were reviewed and compared to the available literature on folk architecture.

Considerable time has been spent on the study, because it is in many ways typical of the kinds of situations with which material culture researchers must deal in an area such as northern Ohio---structures and artifacts which show the influences of popular culture, but also reflect the folk heritage of the makers. Thus, homes which would appear to have emerged almost entirely from the nineteenth century magazines and builder's manuals actually were surrounded by a whole spectrum of traditional activity, practice, and belief.

Chapter 6: Folklore among the General Population
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CHAPTER VII

RURAL AND APPALACHIAN FOLKLORE

Although Ohio has many urban, industrial centers, a large part of the state is still rural and agrarian. The southern part of the state contains more extensive rural and small town areas, but even in the north near such cities as Toledo, Cleveland, Akron, and Youngstown, there are farming regions. The folklore of these rural areas is distinctly different from urban folklore and is often tied to farm life. Part of the rural folklore in Ohio is linked to a particular regional culture, Appalachian.

West Virginia and Eastern Kentucky are considered a part of Appalachia, but the distinctive folk culture associated with this region does not stop at the Ohio River; the southern Ohio hill country also contains the tales, songs, beliefs and crafts of Appalachia. The same English, Scottish, and Irish settlers came into the area at approximately the same time they were populating the Southern Appalachians. In addition to this, migrations from Kentucky and West Virginia reinforced the cultural strains of Southern Ohio. While collecting in southern Ohio, we observed many families with branches and close ties on both sides of the river.

Appalachian folk culture, though primarily rural oriented has not stayed in the country; as people left the farms and mines and came to the city seeking better paying jobs, they brought their folklore with them. So that now some excellent collecting opportunities exist among Appalachian migrants in Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton, and other cities all over Ohio. Of course, some changes have taken place in the lore; such traditional skills as log cabin building have been forgotten, but other kinds of folklore such as folk medicine and music have survived. The _Journal of American Folklore_ published a special issue on _The Urban Experience and Folk Tradition_ which contains much useful information for the collector of Appalachian traditions in a city environment. Especially pertinent are Ellen Stekert's article "Focus for Conflict: Southern Mountain Medical Beliefs in Detroit," and D. K. Wilgus' "Country-Western Music and the Urban Hillbilly."

Different problems will be encountered collecting in the city and the country, but we know from experience that rural people can be very warm and friendly once you get to know them. It is advisable to know a person in a isolated area before you try to collect in it. This has usually worked for us; as soon as so-and-so's name is mentioned, suspicions drop. Even starting out "cold" can be successful as long as you are friendly and open and carefully explain who you are, where you are from, and what you are looking for. Teachers in southern Ohio working with pupils from an Appalachian background have an advantage over outsiders.

The same is true of teachers in urban schools with predominately Appalachian enrollment. In the cities, if you are not already a part of the group or know someone who is, a good way to begin collecting is through community organizations--schools, settlement houses, governmental agencies, community recreation centers, etc. This has helped students to collect in Columbus since in most of these places a group is already gathered together, and the workers in these organizations are usually very eager to help. Again, you can go door-to-door or to local bars to collect, sometimes with good results, but there are going to be more dead-ends and more wasted time. If you are sincerely interested in understanding the culture, time should be spent getting to know the people well before you actually collect items of folklore.

Rural and Appalachian culture is rich in many different kinds of folklore, and the few examples given here do not fully cover the various genres available, but they do give an idea of some of the major kinds. Folk belief is important because it functions in the everyday life of the people as weather signs, planting lore, and folk cures. The weather signs are numerous since it is vital to farmers and other rural people who work outdoors to know what the weather is going to be. Many signs are empirical and believed to be more dependable than the weather bureau report. One widespread sign is that a circle or halo around the moon is an indication of rain. This is usually totally believed; but an addition to it, that the number of stars inside the circle tells how many days before it will rain, is not as readily believed because it does not seem as valid.

> The number of stars in the circle around the moon is an indicator of how many days it's going to be before it rains.
>
> (Collected from a forty-five year old part-time farmer in New Concord in 1973 by his son.) The collector's father related this superstition, but noted he had little belief in it. He did believe that the part regarding the circle around the moon indicating coming rain was at least partially true. In fact, the collector can recall sometimes on the farm when rain wasn't wanted for a few days, the informant would remark about a circle around the moon, indicating coming rain. One of the books which was used in annotation, The Magic and Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro, tried to explain this belief rationally, by saying the circle around the moon was caused by humidity in the air, and varying humidity would cause the circle size to vary, thus in a general way show how many days remained before a rain. (Brown, p. 230, vol. VI; Dorson, p. 335; Puckett, p. 516)

Weather signs are especially important to farmers, and they also have traditional planting signs and ways of finding water to aid in their work. Many farmers go by the phases of the moon for planting certain crops, or there may be particular days on which to plant, such as turnips on the 4th of July. A good water supply is important on any farm, and the folk belief in "water-witching" fulfills this need. When collecting information on folk activities such as water-witching, you should get a detailed description of the method involved as well as degree of belief and specific instances when it was used. The water-witching described in the next example is very detailed despite the fact that it was remembered from many years ago.

> My father used to water-witch in a way different than most. Because in the start they used a branch from a witch hazel bush, but he always used a peach branch--a forked twig of a peach tree--and he would take the two ends like the open ends of a Y and hold 'em with the fork sticking up--one of those ends in each hand and walk slowly over the ground and when he came to the place where water was, that upper stick would start turning toward the ground. Now I seen him do it an' I know it can be done an' it is explained by the fact that certain people are conductors of the force that that water generates in the ground--comes up through their body you see. Now can't everybody do it and I presume you'd have to believe in it to be able to do it. But I've known several places where he went and one time the lady was so enthralled with it and she kept bringin' him chickens and all sorts of things from the farm because she was so happy that they had at last found water. And my father finally told her that he was no magician. He didn't want no more of that--he thought it was getting embarrassing to be so honored. He also went over here to the Central College where the deaf and dumb school is. Now this happened years ago because he's been dead since 1932 so you know it's long, long ago, but he went over there and found water for them. Now you can't always find water, but you know that down under the earth--that the outer earth--the crust of the earth--are streams. A lot of people thought it was mysterious and magical, but my father said no--it was the fact that his body was a conductor of that force.
>
> (Collected from an 83 year old woman in Westerville in 1973.) When I asked the informant if any of the rest of her family had attempted water-witching to see if the power was hereditary, she said that she didn't know that anyone else had tried it, and she herself didn't like to dabble in things like that because she was afraid she would get too involved, that she wanted to stay completely in the real world. (White, p. 174-8)

Another vital area of folk belief in rural culture is folk medicine. In the Appalachian mountains, people were so isolated that doctors and hospitals were hard to reach, and home medical care was based on traditional cures and medicines. People had such faith in folk medicine that even after they move to the city, they cling to their traditional practices and avoid doctors. Some of the folk medicine was preventative such as wearing copper bracelets for arthritis. In Ohio the buckeye is well known and it has been adapted as a preventative medicine.

> If you keep a buckeye in your pocket or anyplace on you, you won't have arthritis, or if you have it, it will go away.
>
> (Collected from a fifty-one year old man from Portsmouth by his daughter in 1973.) Buckeyes are prevalent in Portsmouth, and all over Ohio. So, in many cases, they are one of the ingredients in folk potions to cure ills or diseases. Dad said that when he was young, he knew many people, farmers mostly, who carried buckeyes around in their pockets to avoid arthritis or rheumatism. Dad, however, partly because of his education and exposure to modern medicine, no longer believes that buckeyes have this effect. (Brown, p. 258, vol. VII)

Many students have reported this belief all over Ohio. There are also traditional cures for snake bites, bee stings, warts, and myriad other ailments. One of the most common cures is the poultice; the following example explains how one elderly woman from Williamsport used to use poultices for nail punctures.

> One time my sister was out in the straw shed and a huntin'... gettin' up there pullin' down birds' nests. You know how kids'll do. And she jumped off of the old ladder she was on and I don't think it was anything but a crate where some machinery had been unloaded. . . and she jumped down and jumped on a board that had a nail in it and it went clear through her foot. The print of it was up here on the top of her foot (shows me).
>
> [Mrs. Rushing goes on to explain that a Doctor Barnes was called to look at her foot.]
>
> After that we made poultices and we went down to the old saw mill near Darbyville.
>
> [Here Mrs. Rushing gives more details about Darbyville and about fainting when she saw her sister's foot.]
>
> But we went to the mill and got wood ashes and boiled the ashes in water and took that water and stirred corn meal in it and made a poultice and we poulticed that foot until it drawed all that, it drawed! It would draw the insides out of anything!
>
> [Mrs. Rushing then told of another instance in which her young daughter was stuck by a pitchfork tine between her toes. She administered the same poultice and "never called the doctor."]

> Now people today don't believe things like that hardly. But we did it . . . I expect if anything really serious would happen to me I'd do it yet today if I could get a hold of wood ashes. Because I do know that it was just something in that . . . there was a lye. Lye was in the ashes and ah then you stirred the corn meal in the water after you drained it off of the ashes you see and then you poulticed it.
>
> (Collected from an 88 year old woman in Williamsport in 1973.) Obviously Mrs. Rushing believes in this cure, and besides all the details included she also mentioned the scientific basis behind the cure--the drawing power of the lye in the ashes. In attempting to annotate this, I found several cures for cuts and punctures which used ashes and soot but none called for corn meal to be added as an agent to hold the treatment to the wound.

This example is a good model for the collection of folk cures since it gives not just a simple statement of the cure but goes on to give detailed instances of when the cure was used, thus providing a vivid picture of the importance of the folklore and a clearer understanding of its meaning within the culture.

Ideally this is the way to collect longer items of folklore as well; give the entire context in which the item occurs. When collecting folk tales, for instance, it would be best to have a description of the story-telling situation indicating exactly how a particular story came about, the conversation beforehand and the reaction to the story afterwards. This is not always possible, of course, since usually a collector will ask for stories and get a whole series of tales told for the purpose of recording. If at all possible, it is more valuable to record an actual story-telling session as it would naturally occur in the community. Although the following folktale was not collected at a story-telling session, it is typical of the traditional tall tale popular in Appalachia and all over the United States where folk raconteurs are found.

> I used to have this old hound, and we was out hunting one day, when this old dog run into a barbed wire fence, and it cut him wide open. But I grabbed him up, and stuck him together--two

> feet up and two down. That thing'd run on two feet a little while, and then turn around and run on the other two.'
>
> (Collected from a sixty-four year old man in Chesterville in 1973.) The traditional split dog story comes from the group of hunting and fishing windies and fool yarns. It has been collected in many forms, including a New Mexicanized version in the western locale. The storyteller has personalized the story, and the dog has become a hill hound. Dorson collected the story in Pennsylvania, where the dog ran into a sapling splinter, and outran rabbits by turning cartwheels. The split dog story is Type 1889L, "The Split Dog," and Motif X1215.11, "Lie; the split dog." (Dorson I, pp. 44, 108, 29; Brunvand, p. 115)

In classifying such stories it is important to consult The Types of the Folktale by Stith Thompson and Antti Aarne and The Motif-Index of Folk Literature by Stith Thompson in order to establish their place in tradition and to provide a basis for comparative study with folktales around the world. This variant of the split dog story has been indexed in both the Tale Type and Motif-Index and can be compared to American and international variants. Another tall tale told by a woman also has a long traditional life behind it.

> What about that guy that came to the creek, and he hadn't killed no game all day? Hadn't caught no game all day, and he thought he was going to have to go home without any game at all. And he come to a creek, and, said, he started over across that creek, and he had his britches legs tied. And as he went across that creek, he felt something down in his pants, you know, and it was fish! Down in his britches, because the legs was tied, and they couldn't get out. He got almost to the other side, and he looked and seen a big old bear coming up there, and that liked to scared him to death. And, all at once, his britches had got so full of fish, that the button popped off his pants, and said, it hit that bear right between the eyes, and he got all them fish, and a bear, too.
>
> (Collected from a woman age thirty-nine from Centerburg in 1973.) This is a version of possibly the best-known of all American tall tales, the Wonderful Hunt. It is Motif number X1112, "Hunter catches fish in boots while wading," with the interesting

twist of catching them in his pants instead. In Dorson, the motif was combined with that of catching birds' legs in a split limb. (Dorson, p. 82)

Besides the tales, Appalachian folk culture is also well known for its ballads and folksongs. In Ohio, the ballad tradition has been strong as attested to by the research of Mary O. Eddy and Anne Grimes. Mary Eddy's collection is entitled Ballads and Songs from Ohio; Anne Grimes sings some of the songs she has collected on Folkways Record (FH 5217), "Ohio State Ballads." One of the historical ballads which she collected from John M. Bodiker of Columbus is called "Battle of Point Pleasant."

Battle of Point Pleasant

On the tenth day of October
In Seventy-four, which caus-ed woe;
The Indian sav'ges they did cover
The pleasant banks of the Ohio.

Judgement proceeds to execution--
Let fame throughout all dangers go;
Our heroes fought with resolution
Upon the banks of the Ohio.

The battle beginning in the morning--
Throughout the day it lasted so,
Till the evening shadows were returning
Upon the banks of the Ohio.

Seven score lay dead and wounded,
Of champions that faced the foe;
By which the heathen were confounded
Upon the banks of the Ohio.

Colonel Lewis and some noble captains,
Did down to death like Uriah go;
Alas! their heads wound up in napkins
Upon the banks of the Ohio.

Kings lament the mighty fallen
Upon the mountains of Gilboa;
And now we mourn for brave Hugh Allen
Far from the banks of the Ohio.

Oh! bless the mighty King of Heaven,
For all his wondrous works below,
Who hath to us the victory given
Upon the banks of the Ohio.

It has been said that the first and last shots of the Revolution were fired in the "Ohio Country," the first being in Lord Dunmore's War, 1774, out of which came the pioneer ballads of the Battle of Point Pleasant and Logan's Lament.

Actually, the war did not involve the struggle between Britain and the colonies. It was the Indians fighting for Ohio land, promised them by the British, against Virginians, already hunting, surveying and, even, "squatting" there.

The frontier was "up in arms," with violence and killing on both sides. Finally, the Virginia Royal Governor, Lord Dunmore, himself a land speculator, decided to crush the Ohio tribes by destroying the Shawnee towns on the Scioto River, (in present Pickaway County). Assembling the militia at Fort Pitt, he was to meet Colonel Andrew Lewis and some eleven hundred frontiersmen on the Ohio River at the mouth of the Kanawha at Point Pleasant. But Dunmore took another route. And the Lewis force was attacked at Point Pleasant by nearly a thousand Shawnees, led by their skillful Chief Cornstalk. A desperate all-day battle followed, with more white casualties than Indian. But the Shawnees withdrew at dusk, conceding a hard-earned victory to the Virginians.

A text of the Battle of Point Pleasant was printed in Henry Howe's "Historical Collections of Ohio," (Vol. II, p. 411), as Howe heard it sung in 1844 by "an old West Virginia mountaineer."

I have found many Ohioans who have heard of the ballad, which is sometimes called "The Shawanese Battle," but I was unable to find a version with a tune, until John M. Bodiker, of Columbus "put together the air," as it was sung in his Paulding County Family.

Mrs. Grimes' continuing field research indicates that the folk ballad tradition has not died out in Ohio. Two young field collectors, David Taylor and David Brose, have also had success in finding ballad singers and old-timey musicians in Ohio.

Students at Ohio State have been successful in finding musicians who play folk instrumentals which have been influenced by recorded hillbilly music. This kind of music had its roots in folk tradition and is performed in rural and small town communities today, much as the older folk music was 50 years ago. Folklorists have shown an increasing interest in folk-oriented hillbilly music and there are several books and many articles available to the student (see bibliography). Timothy Lloyd, a former folklore student at Ohio State, and now state folklorist of Ohio, has done extensive research with a folk musician from southern Ohio, Sam Bowles. Sam plays fiddle, guitar, dobro and banjo in a traditional style much influenced by recorded hillbilly music. Tim made several recordings of Sam playing and also recorded extensive interviews with him about his background, influences, attitudes toward his music and so forth. The interview method lends itself to this kind of material better than the item-context method.

Lloyd: When was it that you started playing?

Bowles: When I was about six years old.

Lloyd: And what instrument was it that you started on?

Bowles: Well, I...the first instrument that I learned to play on was the violin and then from that to a banjo and then from that to a guitar...just kept on increasing the proposition.

Lloyd: What musicians did you hear when you were starting to play that you liked?

Bowles: Well, at the time I listened to a lot of bluegrass music from Nashville, Tennessee such as...well, I can't remember all of them, but Mainer's Mountaineers was one, and Bill Monroe, and, well, they had a group on that they called the Fruit Jar Drinkers, and...I don't know...any sort of those from Nashville, Tennessee.

Lloyd: Did you ever listen to any people who were...uh...playing blues music?

Bowles: Well, not too much, no. I...now I used to listen to Jimmie Rodgers records when he was famous, but that's about all of the blues music that I've paid too much attention to at the present time.

Lloyd: How did you first get to the point where you came out of playing in the country and got into playing for a little more wider audience?

Bowles: Well, uh, the reason why I did...I didn't know, uh, at the time, that, uh, that the majority of people was enjoyin' the type of music that I was playin'. But, otherwise, I was in the country and I was walkin' up and down the road playin' music. I and a buddy of mine, so, uh, then I got to playin' for dances, square dances; so forth like that, and it made a little wider spread to it, see? Well, I got to goin'; they got to pickin' me up for dances and bigger congregations, and the first thing you knowed, I was pretty much on the line of bein' away from the country; but...I went to the town, but I didn't let the country go out of me. I always kept the style of the country; makes no difference where I was.

The interview method is also effective for reporting field research in folk crafts. For instance, one student interviewed a group of ladies about their quilting, and she found different folk names for the quilts as well as the methods they used and their attitudes toward the skill.

Collector: How do you quilt in the center?

L.B. - We roll it. We roll from the end. We quilt up to here and then we undo these and roll it up from both sides and just keep rolling till we get to the center of it. It's interesting work. We wish that a lot of young people like you would be interested in it. You can take little scraps of material that you have left from your sewing and just create something beautiful from them. You should save'em and start your quilt. There's so many nice patterns and I think it's wonderful when you can take something which is of no use whatsoever like a little scrap of material and work it up into something pretty.

Collector: Well, this is a friendship quilt. Are there any other kinds of quilts?

L.B.-- Oh, yes, we have lots of names. We have, well, that pink and white one there, that's the wild rose. And that pieced one, I don't know what you'd call that. Some of them are the Irish chain, the double Irish chain, the Dresden plate, the flower garden, star, double wedding ring.

Collector: Are they given for special occasions?

L.B. - No, someone just likes the pattern and they piece a quilt of it. I've got a palm leaf at home. The palm leaf is green.

Collector: It ought to be pretty. I've never seen one of those.

L.B. - It is pretty. Getting kind of old now. They did a cross-stitch rose design here, just beautiful. All over embroidered.

Quilting is among the most universal of folk traditions, not really the domain of any one particular group. However, it has certainly been a popular practice among those people coming from the Appalachian Mountain traditions, and it is therefore appropriate to speak of it here. Quilting, like spinning and weaving, is one of the textile craft traditions currently being enthusiastically "revived." Mountain women are now making patchwork pillows, quilts and clothing to be sold for high prices in designer salons; home magazines suggest that quilt tops can be used for decorating as tableclothes and slipcovers.

Obviously, an old tradition has made an abrupt shift into mainstream culture---a shift that has dictated both a change in construction and use.

Recently, several ladies responded indignantly to an article that had appeared in a quilting periodical; the article had spoken of quilting today as a revival of an almost lost skill, a new art. The letter writers, all quilters, pointed out that quilting had been alive and well for some time---an enduring if quiet tradition. In a revealing statement, one lady commented:

> When outer-directed people take up crafts it is a 'discovery' to them and they go at these activities in a conscious way, enrolling in classes, etc. The

> whole thing is new to everyone they know, the people they know hear the same lectures, so it seems that 'everyone' is doing or saying or planning the same thing. As a rule the solid core of expert craftsmen are more inner-directed, doing what they do for their own reasons in their own time...good solid work has always been turned out in a fairly steady stream, but made to use it gets worn out and disappears. Quilt making is not really in any period of transition. It is the new discoverers of the craft who may not be sure which direction they want to take with their craft... (Letter to the editor by Harriet Hansen, Quilter's Newsletter, #43, May, 1973 Leman Pubs., Wheatridge, Col.)

Another letter writer adds:

> Everyone is getting into the quilt game (including Artists). But I'm a purist who believes first a quilt should be a bedcovering, and if it is not able to be used as such, should not be called such. (Letter to the editor by Helen Ericson, Quilter's Newsletter, #43, May, 1973.)

These comments are applicable to any craft tradition, and while this is not the place to engage in a philosophical discussion of art and craft, it is at least important for the collector to be aware of these questions. How does the craftperson view the product; what is its function; what is considered "pretty" or decorative?

Today, countless books, articles and museum catalogs tell the story of quilting. Local museums are a good starting point for an examination of the historic quilts, but as the ladies quoted above note, quilting is an active tradition. One good place to start looking for quilters is in the local churches---is there a sewing circle that makes and/or finishes quilt tops? (Other traditional crafts are also practiced by church groups. The Presbyterian Church of Bucyrus, for example, has, for the past twenty years, been making rag dolls, using the pattern followed by the church circle one hundred years ago.) What individuals or groups enter quilts in local fairs? Be aware of special events, such as the Mennonite Relief Auctions in Kansas and Pennsylvania for which Mennonite ladies from all over the country work on quilts. Mennonites have settled in various parts of Ohio and maintain a college at Bluffton.

What is the quilt pattern called? The "Sunflower" can be called "Indian Summer" by some and "Broken Circle" by others. In fact, the etymology of quilt names is in itself a fascinating study for the folklorist. The "Ohio Star" becomes the "Lone Star" or the "Texas Star" with a slight change in the use of the color. Has the quilter purchased her pattern, drafted it from another, or designed it herself? Have any changes occurred in the pattern? Does the pattern or color choice reflect an ethnic tradition (the large, colorful work of the Pennsylvania Germans for example, or the dramatic dark colors of the Amish)? How did the quilter learn her skills; does she have any special "tricks of the trade" for keeping the thread from knotting, removing small blood stains from her work? What kinds of fabric are used? How does the quilter view her finished product---a functional item for household use, a decorative piece? What is the finished product---does it depart from traditional quilting practices? Is the work finished by group effort---a "bee"? An excellent beginning project for a teacher interested in introducing a class to audio-visual collecting techniques is the recording of a quilting session.

The making of a quilt is, and always has been, a creative act and the above questions are not intended to suggest that there is a "right" way to produce a quilt. However, like other aspects of folk life, that creativity functions within a traditional context. It has been a domestic craft, often the occasion for a social event, the final product being an article of practical use in the home of the creator or someone within the lifestyle of the creator. It is, in short, something which bears her personal mark---her concept of what is pretty, well-made, and useful. When the quilter begins fabricating for a commercial market, she must meet the demands of that market---the "outer-directedness" to which the writer referred, and she develops an entirely different view of her craft.

To make field research of such crafts complete it is also good to take photographs and make drawings of the process and the final product. In some cases this is impossible, as when an informant tells about a particular craft from memory. This was the situation with the folk toy described below. The corn cob doll could still be easily made, but the availability of factory produced dolls makes it unnecessary.

> To make a doll, they would take a corn cob and cover it with a scrap of cloth, making a long, full skirt, and then draw the face on the cloth. It was treated as a doll despite its lack of arms and legs.
>
> (Collected from a sixty-two year old woman in Lancaster in 1973.) The informant spoke with stubborn pride about making her own toys, although admitting that they were not able to afford "store bought" ones. She was pleased, now, that she had, for being a widow, she said, it helped her to know how to do things herself.
>
> This was a cheap, inexpensive, way to provide children with a wide range of dolls, if desired, and cost little more than a bit of time. (Brown, p. 232)

Some traditional recipes are also not prepared anymore in modern surroundings even though they could be. The recipe for poke salad was remembered by a woman from an earlier time when she lived in the country, but she no longer makes it because of the unavailability of the prime ingredient, the poke weed.

Recipe for Poke Salad

1. Poke is a weed and it grows wild around railroad tracks, rivers, etc.
2. Pick the leaves. Wash them.
3. Cook the leaves in boiling water for about 35 minutes.
4. Drain the leaves.
5. Fry them in skillet with bacon grease, onions, and eggs.
6. Serve with cornbread.

> (Collected from a fifty-six year old woman nurse in Cincinnati in 1973.) The informant remembered eating this especially in her childhood. She has not eaten it or prepared it for several years because poke doesn't grow very well in the city. She also said that it tastes the best when bacon grease is substituted with lard from razorback hogs which have been fed on acorns, chestnuts, or hickory nuts. (Brown, vol. I, pp. 273-4) (variant)

Poke salads are still made in rural areas, but only the memory remains to people who have moved to the city.

The knowledge of how to build a log cabin is still remembered but not practiced by a 96 year old retired carpenter from Walnut Creek, Ohio. A folklore student interviewed the man about the various traditional skills involved, and even though it has been many years since he has built one, he still vividly remembers many of the details, such as how to mix the mud and straw for the chinking of the cabin.

> We'd mix mud and straw for the chinking, that's the filler between the logs. . . . none of the fellers liked doin' it. . . We'd find us a good wet place and put a bunch of corn there, then we'd cover the corn with straw and then with mud, blue clay if it was handy. . . . then we'd turn in the hogs and you know they'd start rooting for that corn and mix that mud and straw together faster than any man could.

> He made it very clear that no one liked mixing the chinking because it was a very dirty job. They knew that pigs would root in search of food from their observance of the pigs' habits. In earlier times animals were used for other purposes than just food and pets; if a job could be done by an animal that would lessen the workload of a man, the animal generally got the job.

The Pennsylvania Germans brought with them to Ohio a number of distinctive material culture traditions: architecture, folk art (fraktur painting), and cooking among others. Although they settled throughout the state of Ohio, the Pennsylvania Germans had perhaps their greatest impact in the south, where the "bank barn" and three-story house are common sights. William Schrieber, in a study that concentrated on the Wayne County area, described the house type:

> This house is easily recognized by its basement entrance into the kitchen and cellar, and by the perfect symmetry in its upper stories. The porch across the full length of the first floor is countered in the rear by the pantry and the bedroom of the parents. The well-lighted and well-ventilated upstairs serves as sleeping quarters for the numerous family. (Wm. Schrieber, "The Pennsylvania Dutch Bank Barn in Ohio," Journal of the Ohio Folklore Society, II:1, p. 18.)

These houses are generally made of wood, although some brick or stone dwellings can also be found.

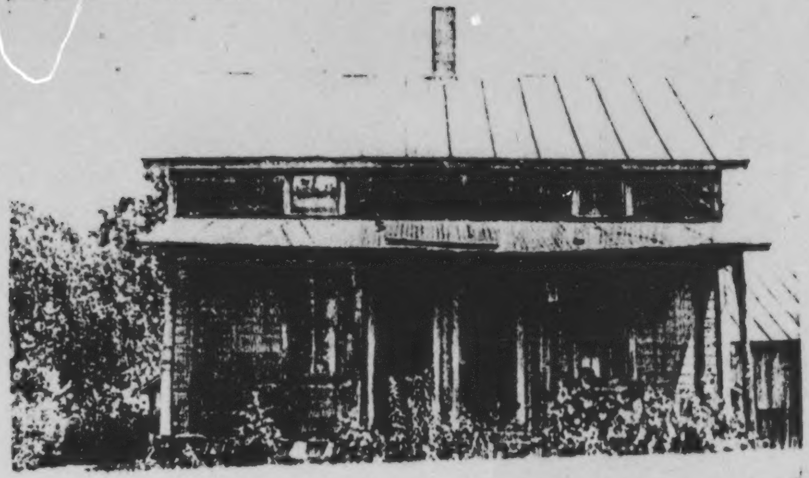
The "Pennsylvania Bank Barn" is an especially popular one in Ohio, again most prevalently in the southern sections of the state. As described by William Schrieber, this barn is "rectangular, multi-level with a cantilever overhanging or extended forebay, overshoot or projection above the ground floor. It can therefore be entered at different levels, access to the second story being mainly from a broad bank or ramp on one side." (Ibid., p. 19) Within this general description are a number of variations that seem to be related primarily to the date of construction. Thus, the pitch of the roof, the number and style of the windows, and certain decorative features changed somewhat over the century as farmers adapted to the conditions of the new region.

As with oral traditions, one must ask questions of architecture also. In the case of a house, what is the basic floor plan; how many doors and windows are there and what is their location; how many floors does the building have? Are there any additions to the original building? What sort of roof does it have? What are the details of its construction; what sorts of materials were used in the building? What relationship does the building have to others around it; what is its position with regard to neighboring roads and waterways? We should ask similar questions of barns; floor plan, style of roof, location of doors and windows, etc. How is the barn raised and by whom? How are the timbers joined; what are the distinctive features of construction? How is the barn used? How is the barn ventilated (for example, barns with brick walls will sometimes have open brick-work ventilation)? Does the barn connect with other buildings? What color is it---in Ohio, barns are predominatly white. Is there any external decoration, such as the geometric designs erroneously called by popular media "hex designs?"

Nearly all the traditional house and barn types can be found throughout Ohio, although some are less clearly tied to a specific group than the Pennsylvania German examples. The standard I-house (generally a two-story, one room deep, two room wide building, with one central or two external gable chimneys) is a popular form in the southern part of the state, a product of both southern and mid-Atlantic migrations. Henry Glassie further noted the presence of some log cabins with external gable and chimneys, also probably a consequence of movement from the South. (Henry Glassie, Patterns in the Material Culture of the Eastern United States (Phil., U. of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), p. 156)

To the north, houses are often not as traditional in form, in keeping with the generally more "progressive" material culture practices of that region, although classic types can certainly be found. Log cabins still dot the landscape, sometimes covered by a brick or lumber facade. A certain distinctive one-and-a-half-story frame house is also fairly common, especially in Seneca and Crawford Counties:

Architecture-Dwelling



One and a half story, two door frame house (one room deep), Highway 100, Crawford County. A similar house, with two end chimneys, is located one half mile west. (see Glassie, Patterns in Material Culture...., p. 129 and Roberts in Folklore and Folklife, "Folk Architecture," pp. 286 and 287.)

The houses are characterized by two front doors, described by one folklorist as a traditional pattern in the Midwest. (Warren, Roberts, "Folk Architecture," in Folklore and Folklife (R. Dorson) (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1972) p. 287) An occasional lean-to or "salt box" house can also be found, a direct legacy from New England. As in the south, the I-house and its variants are a common type in both towns and rural areas. I. T. Frary, a noted Ohio architectural historian, generalized about house types in the northern part of the state and noted the floor plans:

> The average large house of the north had a rather narrow central hall running from front to back, with two rooms on either side. (I. T. Frary, Early Homes of Ohio (New York: Dover, 1970 ed, orig. 1936) p. 143

In other words, a basic Georgian-influenced house of English tradition, carried through the mid-Atlantic states. A "wide" hall was more common in the Eastern antecedents.

> The smaller house was more apt to have a small hall at one side connecting with the various rooms. (I. T. Frary, Early Homes of Ohio (New York: Dover 1970 ed., orig. 1936) p. 143

Again, a Georgian-influenced variant of the I-house.

Predictably, the "English Barn" has generally been the most popular style in the flat northern sectors of the state. The most traditional form of this barn is a one level building with two large doors in each of the side walls; however, in the Midwest there are occasionally English barns built on the side of a hill, creating a "lean-to" structure. In some areas, a very traditional series of small windows over the side door serves both ventilation and lighting purposes. Also be on the lookout for an occasional door in the gable end as well as the side. Roof styles, of course, vary---gambrel and simple gable being the most common.

Outbuildings on a farm, in addition to being significant for their sturctural elements, reveal much of the farm life. What activities and specialties have been important? Are there wash houses/ woodsheds, corn cribs, smoke houses, spring houses, root cellars, "special" barns such as tobacco barns? Again, what is the floor plan; what materials have been used in the construction; are there distinctive features such as hoods over the doorway? What is the relation of these buildings to each other, the house and the main barn? Schrieber, for example, found a fairly consistent pattern in south central Ohio:

> By far the greater numbers of barns stand with the longitudinal axis north and south, with a sheltered barnyard to the east, and just as frequently they stand at right angles to the house which faces south. The farmhouse, often without windows toward the west, offers a 'cold shoulder' to the elements. The prevailing winds are from the west and the southwest. The barn

> on the other hand, shows its doors to the elements. (Schrieber, p. 20.)

In the rural areas of Coshocton County one finds the "straddle" arrangement typical of up state New York---the house is on one side of the road facing the barn on the other.

Questions such as these inevitably lead to discussion of farm implements. One of the best places to find traditional agricultural tools is often again in the local museum. The A. Allen County Museum in Lima has an excellent collection which reveals the agricultural history of the area. Often, such historical societies have members who recall the use of the tools and the activities of the farmer's year---butchering, cheese making, harvest time. The old-fashioned threshing ring, a festive event of the harvest, is a custom once common to southwestern Ohio, but now vanished.

Chapter 7: Rural and Applachian Folklore
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CHAPTER VIII

AFRICAN-AMERICAN FOLKLORE

Folklore of the black population of Ohio is a unique blend of southern rural traditions which have been implanted here and modern urban lore which while based on older materials came out of the experience of blacks in the city environment of the north. Black folk traditions of both kinds are extremely rich in Ohio, and folklore students at Ohio State have had notable success in collecting living African-American lore. As with the folklore of other groups, black folklore has been influenced by popular culture and mass media, but black expressive culture has been extremely effective in adapting folk and popular strains to form viable new expressions. Such is the case with "soul music" which is based on older blues forms and maintains the emotional core of blues while at the same time using contemporary sounds to appeal to a wide popular audience. The same can be said of modern gospel music which combines traditional themes and structures of folk spirituals with new techniques and arrangements. A student interested in black folk culture should be aware of these newer manifestations of folk forms.

It has been an idealistic assumption on the part of some folklorists that a greater understanding of black culture through folklore on the part of whites would lessen the prejudices of whites toward blacks. We have seen this happen on a small scale with students in folklore classes where white students left with a greater respect for black cultural expressions which they had formerly misunderstood. Their new understanding came not just from reading books on black culture but from doing a field collection project and encountering black people directly on a personal level. This teaches them more about the culture than reading about it ever could. This principle could work at any educational level--college, high school, even elementary school. White students can collect from black students and their families, and the cultural exchange can work both ways.

White students have turned in some fine collections of black folklore at Ohio State, but, to be honest, the black students have done better in collecting their own folklore. The reasons for this should be obvious; the barriers between the races would impede the white student collector; whereas the black student would be more readily accepted in the black community and he or she would have a more thorough knowledge of black attitudes and life styles from the beginning. The black students usually start collecting from family and friends in their own community; and white students find this a good way to start collecting also. In fact, many times students say that they get to know their black friends better after having collected from them. Also the white students have found that elderly black people are easy to approach and collect from, and older people have accumulated a wider repertoire of traditional lore over the years.

As was pointed out before, traditions exist in both rural and urban environments, and the student should be familiar with the different kinds of folklore found in each. The bibliography at the end of this chapter lists many excellent books to start with, but probably the best general introduction is Alan Dundes, editor, Mother Wit From the Laughing Barrel Readings in the Interpretation of Afro-American Folklore. This book gives examples of rural and urban lore plus analyses by black and white folklorists and scholars.

African-American folk belief is found today in the country and in the city. The source of much of it is rural, but it has proved adaptable to city surroundings. There is also quite a bit of overlap with rural white folk belief. Many of the same folk beliefs are found in collections of white and black folklore. One belief--if a woman craves a certain food while she is pregnant her baby will be born with a birthmark shaped like that food--has been reported in collection projects on Appalachian, Afro-American, and Italian folklore. An Ohio State student collected a superstition from an elderly black man who now lives in Columbus although he is originally from the country. His item was annotated from both Afro-American collections (Puckett) and white Southern collections (Hand and Randolph).

> Don't let a cat sleep in the house. It'll suck your breath away.
>
> (Collected from an eighty-eight year old man from Columbus in 1972.) The informant asked if I had a cat and I said yes and that he usually slept with me. He smiled and said, "Well, it looks to me as if you're still breathing." He seemed to enjoy both his little joke and the verification of the falsity of the "superstition." Incidents like this one strengthen his position that he has "gotten away from all that" and give him an opportunity to voice again his faith in religion. He seems to need these reinforcements. Maybe because he knows he once did believe in the "superstitions" and maybe because there are still those he adhers to. (Hand, no. 267; Puckett, p. 470; Randolph, p. 205)

Another folk cure collected from the same man is totally believed; this cure is also given as an example in the preceding chapter on rural and Appalachian folklore.

> Carry a buckeye to get rid of arthritis.
>
> We had been discussing squirrels and walnuts when the informant referred to Ohio as the Buckeye State. He then quickly remembered the cure mentioned above and conveyed his belief in it. The remembering of this cure triggered other beliefs surrounding the buckeye. This situation illustrates very well how the items of folklore emerged naturally from our conversations if time were taken. This method was much more successful than direct questions asking for examples. The cure itself fits into that realm of ailments for which science has not yet discovered a remedy and so individuals put their faith in some device to relieve their own discomfort or anxiety. (Dorson, p. 330; Hand, no. 1995, 2001; Puckett, p. 360; Randolph, p. 153)

These folk beliefs which have a rural origin are usually found among older blacks in the city or the country. Younger blacks tend to reject them although there may be some knowledge of them.

Traditional recipes were also brought by blacks migrating from the South into Ohio. Traditional black cooking has come to be called "soul food," and the origin of it was in slavery times when the slaves received only the worst cuts of beef or pork. For instance, the slaves were given the intestines of the hog, and these became chitterlings, or "chittlins." Many blacks in Ohio still cook chittlins, pig's feet, pig's ears, and so forth. The recipe in the following example was made with left over bread because for people existing at a poverty level nothing could be wasted. This applies to any poor group whether black or white so that many soul foods were also cooked by poor whites in the South.

Bread Pudding

Take left-over bread, light bread or biscuits, that's maybe
too dry. Slice it or break it up in a pan.
Take your milk and egg and beat 'em together.
Add sugar and flavoring. I like nutmeg.
Put chunks of butter on bread.
Cook slow (275-300) until brown as you like it.

(Collected from a seventy-two year old black woman in Columbus in 1972.) As the informant explained this recipe, she was very animated, gesturing all the time to illustrate the process of slicing, breaking, beating, buttering, etc. Her face was serious and her voice forceful, lending an authoritative air to the telling. When she had finished once, she went back over it all a couple more times to make sure it was clear. Then she settled back and was silent and still. During all of this, her husband was also adding his directions either before, during, or after she would be at a certain point. It was a favorite of his so he wanted to contribute. I think this recipe is a good example of how economical some people can be, especially those who grew up in relatively poor financial situations and/or in rural areas. Food was not thrown away, just prepared in a different way so it could be used.

There is also an overlap between black and white children's folklore, but there are certain characteristics of black children's lore which make it distinctive. The rhymes chanted by black children often contain themes which are popular throughout black folklore but not found in the lore of whites. For instance, the following rhyme collected from an eleven year old black girl in Columbus in 1971 refers to James Brown the popular soul singer and to the black power movement.

I went downtown
To see James Brown.
He gave me a nickel,
I bought me a pickel.
The pickel was sour,
I bought me a flower.
The flower was dead.
You know what I said?
I said, "ooo-she-wah-wah
I got me Black Power."

A similar rhyme found among white children refers to Mr. Brown and does not mention black power at all.

I went downtown
To see Mr. Brown
He gave me a nickle
To buy a pickle.
The pickle was sour,
I bought a flower.
The flower was yellow.
I gave it to my fellow.
My fellow was sick,
I gave him a kick.
And that was the end of
    my dirty trick.

(Collected in 1972 from a twenty year old white student from Cleveland who remembered it from her childhood.)

Other rhymes from black culture reflect these same concerns, and one type of rhyming game is especially identified with black adolescents.

This game is called "the dozens," and it has been widely collected and analyzed by folklorists (see bibliography). It is a verbal insult game played by boys and girls, sometimes rhymed and sometimes not. The players have to exhibit a great deal of verbal skill and quickness of wit. In collecting the dozens, it would be best to record an entire session in a natural setting with both sides in the exchange. Linda Miller has recorded an entire dozens session in her classroom. (see "Playing the Dozens Among Black High School Students" Journal of the Ohio Folklore Society 2 (1973), 20-29.) You can also collect individual dozens remembered by informants from their adolescence as in the case of the following examples.

When we were small like, uh, somebody would call somebody a fool, the other would say, "Well, if I'm a fool, you're a mule, and I ride your black ass to school."

(Collected from a twenty-three year old man from Portsmouth in 1972.) This was the first item in our second session. James commented on this. "We used to do that all the time. We used to do that in front of white people and shit when somebody called us a fool or somethin', you know, when we'd do that we'd just blow everybody away. If you're around people who never heard that before, like, they'd just bust out and just really be embarrassing to the other guy."

I asked James about the way they rode me when I played with "The Soul Brothers." They seemed eager to call me a fool. I was bothered by this, especially since I came from an all white district and an all white school and an all white crowd. They were the first Blacks I knew. So when they called me fool I didn't know how to react. James said they were just trying to make me feel at home. They were always on each other's back. And I guess the way to make me feel welcome was to get on my back too.

Your Mama was a teddy
Your Papa was a bear
They put a muzzle on your
Sister because she had bad hair.

(Collected from a fifty year old woman in 1972.) The informant said that this was considered to be a really bad dozen down South when she was a little girl (about 50 years ago). If you were able to say this to some other colored child and get away with it without a fist fight, you were considered very lucky, according to the informant. She said that colored children in the South where she lived were very sensitive and one did not enter into the dozens unless they could handle the situation both verbally and physically.

Out of the verbal skill developed playing the dozens comes a more complicated rhyme form, the toast, which is recited by older adolescents and young men. The toast is a long narrative poem with a traditional structure, rhythm, rhyme scheme, and themes. It often deals with outlaw heroes, such as "Stagolee," "The Great MacDaddy," and "Dolomite," or weaker protagonists who best their opponents with wit, such as the "Signifying Monkey" included here from a young Cincinnati man, who was also an excellent joke and story-teller. If you can find a man-of-words, you can usually collect a wide variety of black folklore from one person.

The monkey said to the lion one bright summer day,
"There's a big bad motherfucker headin'yo'way.
He talk about yo' mammy an' yo' daddy too,
That don't mean shit to you!"
The lion growled and growled,
Shake a coconut from the tree,
Knock a giraffe to the knees,
Goin' through the jungle mad as he can be,
He spied brother elephant sittin' under the tree.
He say, "Listen, big boy, it's you or me'"
The elephant look at the lion with tears in his eyes
An' say, "Listen, little chickenshit, you better go and pick
        on somebody yo' size."
Like a bolt of heat an' all ____________________ [?]
The lion jumped on the elephant with all four feet.
They fought all night and half the ....
They fought all day and half the night,
The lion gave the elephant one hell of a fight.
Goin' through the jungle more dead than alive,
That's when that monkey started signifying jive.
He say, "Pops, you ain't so hot!
Everybody in the jungle knows just what you got.
Eyes all black, lips all blue--

I know it ain't shit to you!
Call yo'self the king of the beasts!
Ain't that just about a bitch!?
Come 'round here lookin' like the seven-year itch!"
Started jumpin' up and down,
Feet missed a limb an' ass hit the ground.
Like a bolt of heat and all of ___________[?]
The lion 'as on the monkey's ass with all four feet.
That monkey look at the lion with tears in his eyes,
An' he say, "Please, Mr. Lion, I apologize!"
The lion lookin' at that little monkey an' he say,
"I'm tired of yo' signifyin'! I'm gonna put an end to this jive,
'Cause you signifyin'?"
So the monkey is dead, and the buzzard all fly,
So watch yo' mouth, and don't signify.

(Collected from a twenty-seven year old man in Cincinnati in 1970.) I met the informant Jim through his cousin who is a friend of mine, and the three of us and a woman friend of theirs spent an evening drinking and talking. When Jim started to spontaneously tell jokes, I asked if I could turn on the tape recorder. Jim said sure and immediately went into a performance routine including telling jokes, rhymes and this toast. He gestured emphatically while reciting this, used dramatic emphasis and different voices for the characters. The rest of us responded with laughter and encouragement at the end.

There is a rich narrative tradition in black American culture, ranging from animal tales with African background to modern urban jokes which comment on white racism. It would be impossible to do justice to this body of material here, but several books in the bibliography are extensive collections of black folktales. Both of the examples given here deal with traditional themes; one is a "Marster-John" tale which goes back to slavery times.

Well, ya see, Old Mas'er had a slave named John. So one day Old Mas'er told John that he had bought some vanishing cream for his wife and that he wasn't to mess with it. A few days later Old Mas'er had to go to New York on some business. Ya see, when the mas'er'ed leave town, John always had a bunch of people over and'd throw a party. Soon as Old Mas'ered'd left, John invites all his friends over to the house and'd fixed a lot of food. Well, soon as that there party was a jumpin', somebody seed Old Mas'er a comin' down the path. Folks started a flying this a way and that. John is so scared that he run and gets the vanishing cream and smeared it all over hisself just as Old Mas'er came a busting through the door. He say, "John, I'm gonna kill you." John say, "Mas'er how you gonna kill me, you can't even see me, I'se done vanished."

(Collected from a fifty-two year old factory worker from Dayton in 1972.) Mr. Jackson changed the pitch of his voice throughout the telling of the story and he used an abundance of hand and body gestures. He sat on the edge of his chair and when an action part came in the story, he would jump up and imitate the action of the characters. Mr. Jackson would exaggerate some of the words to sound more flat-toned and when imitating the voice of John, he would talk much slower. When one views Jackson telling the story, it seems as if he was actually there to witness the happenings between Old Mas'er and John. He takes an active part in the story telling and at the end of the story, he is just as much out of breath as if he had run from the master's house along with the other slaves. The Old Mas'er and John stories are very popular in Black folklore. John is usually a trickster-type character who outwits the master, but in some stories, John's schemes backfire. In the above story told by Mr. Jackson, John's plans backfire. He is left hold the bag and he has to suffer the consequences. John always represents the Black man and the Old Mas'er always represents the White man. The Black man must always wear the smiling, ignorant mask over his face to hide the anger and his true intentions, just as John does. In this story of John and his master, John is caught by his master doing "dirty work." The underlying meaning beneath this is that the master isn't as dumb as John thought and that the Black man must be punished for his carelessness. The use of the vanishing cream shows that John takes the word of the master as a truth, even though he confused the literal meaning of the word vanishing--he actually thought that it made people disappear.

Another popular subject is preachers; these tales make fun of the human frailties of spiritual leaders.

Reverend __________ from Ibedam, Alabama; he was a groovin' preacher. He started a sermon like "Ah, ah ahe. There's a time a comin' when the white horse gonna ride the black horse, aheh, the black horse gonna ride the white horse, aheh, women gonna rule the world, aheh, women gonna be doctors, lawyers, and presidents, aheh, loong may the women live." And there's a sister kept on, "Right on, Reverend, right on." He said, "Aheh, yes, brothers and sisters, there gonna come a time when the white horse gonna ride the black horse, aheh, the black horse gonna ride the white horse, aheh, women gonna rule the world, aheh, women gonna be doctors, lawyers and presidents, aheh, long may the women live!" She kept jumpin' up and down, "Right on, Reverend, right on." He said, "But in short, aheh, I want you women to stay beautiful for me, for me. In short I want you to stop foolin' around with them young men. Cut 'em a loose." And that same sister'd been jumpin' up and down sayin', "Right on, Reverend, right on," she jumped up and said, "Shit, Rev, you done fell off your horse now." (Laughter) "In other words, you don't go on and mess it," she said, "What I do is my business."

But the Rev wouldn't stop there. He say "Aheh, yes brothers and sisters, there'll come a time when the white horse gonna ride the black horse, aheh, the black horse gonna ride the white horse, aheh, women gonna rule the world; women gonna be the doctors, lawyers and presidents. Long may the women live, aheh." And a big fat sister in the amen corner got happy, and she jumped up and say, "Preach it, Brother!" And just as she say that a twenty dollar bill popped outa her bosom and floated right on down in front of the pulpit. The Rev say, "Yes, brothers and sisters, I still say that the times gonna come when the white horse gonna ride the black horse, the black horse gonna ride the white horse, the women gonna ahehaheh." And he looked down there and spied that twenty. He said, "Let's everybody kneel in prayer." Just as the Rev. knelt down to pick up that twenty, a one-eyed deacon in the amen corner looked up at him. He knowed that if that one-eyed deacon told on him, he wouldn't be able to preach in that church no more. So (aside) he knowed he wouldn't be able to preach in that church no more so he figured a way to square the-eyed deacon. He say, "He that seeth and knoweth a secret keepeth, and I'll divide it later, so saith the Lord." The Lord hadn't said shit; he was just lookin' for a way to operate.

But Rev wasn't through there. He said, "Yes, brothers and sisters, there's a time coming I'll see," and then he say, "I'm ready to die. I'm ready to go to Heaven." And just as he said that--he didn't know that there was a guy standin' right up there with a pistol right up here. No matter how strict the Lord do, he had the pistol right up here. When the Rev said, "I'm ready to die. I'm ready to go to Heaven." And just as soon, just as he said that, the pistol fell out of the man's bosom. "Abam." It went right off. "Bam!" The Rev. tore right through the wall. I said, "Hey, Rev, that ain't the way to go to Heaven." He said, "You go to Heaven the best way you can, son, I'm gettin' the hell outa here!"

This tale was recorded one night at Jim's cousin's apartment in Cincinnati, Besides the collector who is white, the cousin and his girlfriend, both black, were present. This tale is actually three separate jokes which the storyteller strung together and unified around the character of the preacher. He had told the story earlier in a car as we were driving around, and I asked him to repeat it for purposes of recording. His style of presentation was very animated, and he dramatized the story by using different voices for the characters. His delivery of the preacher's lines was a broad comic parody of the traditional style of the rural black preacher and very effective in conveying the humor of the joke. The response of the group was loud laughter even though we had heard the story earlier. (Abrahams, Deep Down in the Jungle, p. 207.)

One Sunday back home, the preacher was just a preaching and the old sisters were just a shouting and hollering. By the time the preacher really got in full (i.e., very dramatic and emotional with all stops pulled) and suddenly one woman was shouting so that she let go her pocketbook and a $100 bill flew out. The preacher, upon seeing this hollered out "Yea! We gone (going) to walk the aisle now and we want everybody to kneel and bow their heads while I's pray." So the preacher started walking and praying. Finally he was certain that everybody had their eyes closed so as he prayed he tipped over to where the $100 bill was. As he was about to pick it up, one old sharp-eyed deacon said Ahh ! Ahh! The preacher went on and picked up the money and put it in his pocket and said "Praying time is over for he who known what I'm talking 'bout; keep your mouth shut 'cause my text for next Sunday is 'To be divided later'."

(Collected from a thirty year old man in Columbus in 1972.) The theme of this folktale is the recognition of means to supplant spiritual needs by worldly gains via deceit. During the climax of the worship service's impact, the reader senses the preacher's ability to focus and intensify the emotional fibers of his sermon to boost his ego as well as to reap a reward by flimflaming members of his congregation. Moreover, one sees the dubious integrity of the deacon who does not interrupt the solemn ceremony but subtly pretends to be "giving witness" to the preacher's words in order to admonish him of the temptation. However, the preacher is continuously aware of his controlling force that he can exert over his members by directing his text, not for the advantage of his members but to enter into a collusion with his deacon. Dorson, P. 368 (#235)

The tales and jokes can be collected from all age levels, from the child telling his first joke to the 90 year old man remembering tales from the plantation days of the Old South. Ohio is an excellent area for collecting all types of black folktales because of the sizable black population with representation of all social levels and background.

The black folk song tradition is not as strong in Ohio; folklorists have been looking for country blues singers in Ohio for several years without much success. This does not mean that black folk music is dead: the tradition has continued through urban blues, soul music, and modern gospel music; these types of music are not only surviving but getting stronger. There are scores of gospel quartets and choirs in Columbus and other cities and each one has traditional spirituals as part of its repertoire. Collecting individual songs is one approach to studying gospel music, but extensive interviews with the people involved in gospel--singers, musicians, directors, and preachers--would also be very valuable in helping us understand the folkloric nature of the music. The same approach would be effective in getting information about urban blues and soul music. The interview conducted in 1971 by George Mitchell with Robert Junior Lockwood, a Cleveland blues musician and singer, is a model of this technique because Mitchell's knowledgeability of blues gave him the appropriate questions to ask. Mitchell knew that Lockwood was related to the legendary country blues singer from Mississippi, Robert Johnson, who recorded in the 1930's.

> Mitchell: What about your relationship with Robert Johnson?
>
> Lockwood: I was thirteen years old when Robert Johnson got with my mother. He was about eighteen and she was twenty-eight. They met in Helena. He was just there playing. See, back in that time, dudes like Robert and Blind Lemon Jefferson, they didn't have no booking agent like the fellows have now. And they didn't have any help; you know, they just played the guitar by themselves and played on the streets, and they made a pretty decent buck. Well, Robert was the best thing that could have every happened to me because I had always wanted to play. Just as fast as he put the guitar down, I picked it up. And he saw I was really inter-

> ested in playing, so he finally taught me. And I learned real fast. In about two weeks, I was playing two or three songs. And Robert left and went down in Texas and stayed six or eight months and when he came back I was playing all the songs on the records we had by him. And that dude played some curious guitar. At that time, I sounded so much like him that sometimes people got confused as to who was Robert Johnson. Once I went to Clarksdale with Robert, and he was playing on one end of this bridge and I was playing on the other and people was just going to and from across that bridge; they was real confused. And then after Robert got killed...I just wouldn't accept the fact that he was dead, you know. Anyway, it was after Robert had died, and I went to Elaine, Arkansas, and I played that Saturday down there on the streets. And I came home to Helena that Sunday, and somebody told me, "You know, I seen Robert Johnson down to Elaine." So I went back to Elaine trying to find him, and it finally come to me that it was me they had seen down there.

Most of the groups mentioned in this book have some folk art tradition that reveals the character of that group, and a full discussion of folk art here does not mean to imply anything to the contrary. The suggestions for collection and study made in this chapter are just as applicable to the art stemming from Appalachian and European ethnic groups. The subject of folk art can be one of the most confusing, and at times, controversial, in the field of material culture. Since the purpose of this Guide is to provide a relatively basic approach to field work, interested students should take care to consult the large bibliography available to gain an understanding of the elements of the folk aesthetic and folk production.

Folk art, sometimes referred to as "naive," "primitive," or "county" is often defined, not altogether successfully, as what it is not. It is not academic art---the product of formal training, expressive of a certain style or school consciously developing new techniques and designs. It is not popular or mainstream art---created and disseminated on a broad scale, copying a certain standard pattern, influenced by the trends of the moment. Thus, Currier and Ives prints of the nineteenth century, and the mourning pictures often classified as "schoolgirl art" (and often included in discussions of folk art) would be two examples of popular art. In the twentieth century we have hobby kits, comic books and the ubiquitous influence of Hallmark.

That leaves folk art, both graphic and non-graphic. Folk art is not simply "bad" art; it has an aesthetic of its own. It is customary to characterize folk artists as untrained; often this is the case, but many folk artists have emerged from craft traditions which permitted the development of their skills in the first place. Twentieth century Texas artist, Clara McDonald Williamson, took a number of courses at the local university. Yet, with Aunt Clara as with other true folk artists, such courses have relatively little impact on her work---rather they provided an access to materials and an opportunity to express an already clearly defined view of the world. (See Donald and Margaret Vogel, Aunt Clara: The Paintings of Clara McDonald Williamson. Austin: U. of Texas Press, 1966.)

Folk art is created by individuals who express a realistic view of their world. Such realism does not always imply exact imitation, but rather the successful use of standard and sometimes stylized forms (the geometric, floral and animal decorative devices of the Pennsylvania Germans for example). In the case of graphic art, these forms whether they are people, animals, buildings, or plants, express an orderly relationship to one another and depict scenes and activities easily recognized by an audience. In sculptural art the same principles exist---there is an internal order or relationship among the various parts. Holger Cahill, in a classic characterization of folk art, commented: "It goes straight to the fundamentals of art---rhythm, design, balance, proportion, which the folk artist feels instinctively. . ." The subjects of interest to the student of folk art are many. The list which follows is in many ways quite arbitrary; it does not include furniture, ceramics amd textiles. It is intended to be suggestive and concentrates primarily on objects whose primary purpose was intended as decorative.

It will be quickly noted that even here there are exceptions. Paintings include not only portraits but landscapes, historical, patriotic and religious scenes, and "genre" paintings. Portraits were often done by itinerant painters, although later in the nineteenth century, some set up more permanent establishments. Some remain in family collections; many are now in local museums as part of the area's history. A good example of a portrait can be found in the Allen County Museum in Lima. Another hangs in the Stone House Museum in Lakewood, while a third example, a portrait of the first President of the college, is at Denison University in Granville. Ohio landscapes often seem to favor the waterways (canals, rivers, and Lake Erie), although few folk paintings of this type are to be found. The Allen County Museum again has one example. Genre paintings depict scenes of the activities of everyday life (harvesting and planting, religious revivals, going to school, holidays, etc.) and can often serve as important historic documents of events that were not recorded into tale. They are the "photographs" of their times. They give us clues to clothing styles, architecture, types of crops grown, family relationships, the role of servants, and a myriad other details of everyday living. The study of folk art can also include decorative devices applied to household items (nineteenth century toleware, furniture, kitchen utensils). Much of the most distinctive art of this type is influenced by German tradition--both that which filtered through Pennsylvania and that which came directly from the old world. Pennsylvania Germans who settled in Ohio continued to create fraktur, the highly stylized decoration of documents and important family papers. Tulips, hearts, birds, and floral devices were all popular motifs. The colony at Zoar, like the Shakers who also settled in Ohio, designed furniture of high quality. Unlike the Shakers, they often painted decorations on this furniture. Finally, there is the non-graphic art in wood, metal, and stone. Included in this category are decoys, weathervanes, toys, calliope horses and other circus carvings, cigar store figures, butter molds, statues and busts, business signs, tombstones, powder horns, scrimshaw, hitching posts, etc.

Folk art is by no means a thing of the past however, Elijah Pierce is a barber living in Columbus, Ohio. He is also a very fine wood carver whose works are now receiving critical acclaim and are being exhibited in New York galleries. The son of a former slave, Elijah spent his boyhood in Mississippi where he would often retreat to the woods and carve on the trees. Now he likes to use soft woods---a discarded broom handle, a scrap from some other project---to carve both statues and reliefs. While his work emphasizes religious and historic themes, his carvings range broadly in subject manner. There is a humorous depiction of the three monkeys (hear no evil, speak no evil, say no evil), an elaborately carved dragon (and many Biblical figures). All his carvings, statues and reliefs are flattened, creating a two-dimensional effect---a trait often characteristic of folk carving. Some works are painted while others are left in their natural state protected only by shellac or varnish. Mr. Pierce told one student interviewer that everyday experiences create the ideas that are translated to wood. (Kathy Marty, *Journal of The Ohio Folklore Society*.1 (1972). He views his carvings both as personal expressions of his devout faith and a means of communicating this faith to others. Occasionally the message is spelled out as in the case of a red devil statue bearing the warning "Do Not Sware." Elijah Pierce's masterwork is The Book of Wood---a magnificant volume of seven leaves measuring seven and a half feet square. Each leaf has been divided into as many as six units, each telling one part of the life of Christ. The book has survived forty years of travels as Mr. Pierce and his wife preached the Gospel.

Careful documentation is, as always critical to folk art research. The best documentation of all is of course the photograph. The photograph should be accompanied by a fact sheet recording vital information---dimensions, material (wood, metal, stone, etc.), artist if known, title if known, date if known, present location and owner and a brief verbal description. (This data list is derived from the forms of the Bicentennial Survey of American Art sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution. A sample form is included and the end of this chapter.) If one is fortunate enough to meet a living artist much more is involved---the above are just the "facts" of the creation. Knowing the artist, seeing him or her work, it is possible to place that individual's creations in the context of his life and his view of the world. Such understanding comes only after time and long conversations that reveal the source of the ideas, what the needs of the artist are to express them, how he or she views the good and evil in the world and how it is reflected in the work.

Chapter 8: African-American Folklore
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CHAPTER IX

ETHNIC FOLKLORE

There are too many ethnic folk cultures in Ohio to give them all representation in this manual. The ones included were chosen because students have done excellent collection projects on them: German, Ukrainian, Slovenian, Serbian, Csechoslovakian, Greek, Italian and Mexican. This gives an idea of the variety of ethnic cultures in Ohio, but it leaves out some very important groups: Jewish, Irish, Polish, Hungarian, Russian, Chinese and Japanese to name a few. The examples given should provide some general guidelines for collecting from ethnic groups, and books on specific cultures can be consulted for more information.

The reason we make this explanation of why certain cultures are left out here is the fierce ethnic pride of each group. Ethnic pride leads to some rivalry among the people who happen to live close together in Ohio cities. This is important to remember when collecting from the various ethnic groups. Many of the best ethnic collection projects turned in at Ohio State were done by students who were members of the group so that the ethnic pride belongs to the collector as well as informants. You have to see the material positively in order to do a good job collecting.

There was a time when some of the later generations of immigrants were ashamed of their heritage and wanted to be assimilated totally in to mainstream American culture. That is no longer true, in fact, now the third and fourth generations are actively seeking more knowledge of their traditional past. This has motivated students to take folklore classes and then collect from their own family and friends to gain a better understanding of their own past. The collecting is easier for a group member, but an outsider can have success if he or she comes with respect for the traditions of the nationality.

If you are not a part of the group and do not have a contact in it but want to collect from them, the best starting point is probably a church within the ethnic community. Much of the social life of the community revolves around the church, and it is a good contact point. Other possible sources of information are the ethnic organizations which consciously preserve the heritage of the nationality. These organizations often sponsor folk dances with live music and authentic costumes and foods. You should be aware, though, that some organizations revive old traditions after they have died out so that they no longer have the same meaning or function they once had. For instance, a group of teenagers who learn folk dances from a teacher who is trying to preserve the tradition by performing them for audiences differs from the situation of a girl who learns a dance from an older sister to dance at a small community gathering for her own entertainment. This is not to say that the revival situation is not valid; both are expressions of the culture and should be studied, but the different circumstances change the nature of the folklore. Whatever changes have occurred in the tradition should be noted.

One student collected German folklore from her grandfather, but the German traditions were not very strong within his family. Her grandfather was born in Ohio in 1888, one year after his parents migrated from Germany. He recalls hearing many old German tales as a child, but he cannot remember any of them. He does remember some of the legends which his father told about the old country; these tales of witches and hexes must have made a stronger impression on his mind, perhaps because they were told as true and he still believes them.

> My dad had pigs, and there's a woman bought four pigs. This is in Germany, four pigs in Germany. And this witch came over to her house and said, "I want to see your pigs. I heard you had some nice pigs." She (the owner) didn't know she was going to do something to them. Now, that witch read the Seventh Book of Moses, see, and so she bewitched these pigs. So my dad heard of it and went over there, and he told her, he says, "You go and buy a new broom, a new broom," and he says, "I'll fix them pigs for you." So he

went in the pen, and they were jumping up the sides of the pen, just crazy wild. And they were bewitched, see, jumping up the side of the pen. And so he takes that broom and he went over them three times and never touched that broom to the ground. He told the lady that owned the pigs, he says, "Now when that witch comes back, don't let her near the pen if you can help it. You get out there first and take that broom (he sat that broom down with the handle up against the fence) and you grab that broom and you just slap her on the back as hard as you can slap her, lick her all you can." And by God, she did that, and the pigs started to eat their food already. And that's it. Some people think that's a fake, but it ain't.

(Collected from an 85 year old farmer from Trowbridge by his granddaughter in 1973.) "Dad used to do that kind of stuff. In Germany my dad used to read the German Bible, and every Sunday, he put on his glasses to read and read the Bible. He read the Seventh Book of Moses all the time, but us kids never could read them." My grandpa didn't see this breaking of the witch's hex, but his dad told him about this. Even though he didn't see this, he totally believes it since he saw what his mother could do. Grandpa also told me that he has firm faith in the Seventh Book of Moses and its witchcraft. Later in the evening, he told me that there was no such things as ghosts, but there sure were witches. This story tends to reinforce his belief in witches since he says that it was a witch, and not just a lady that hexed the pigs.

The student's mother is more a product of American culture, and the folklore items she reported may or may not be of German origin; her lore is probably a mixture of many elements. For instance, the belief that something which scares a pregnant woman can mark her baby is a widespread superstition (other examples are included in this manual). The collector was able to annotate the belief in a book on German folklore, but it is also found in other cultures.

When you were pregnant, anything that would scare you could mark that baby. This one woman saw a mouse, and it scared her, and she said Ah-h-h, like that, and that baby had the mark of that mouse on its stomach, a regular birthmark.

(Collected from a 48 year old woman from Port Clinton by her daughter in 1973.) When my mother was pregnant with my sister, there was a mouse in the kitchen. At first, it scared her a little, but then she began to try to get it out from beneath the refrigerator. Her uncle by marriage began to scream at her, telling her the baby would be marked, and she should sit down and relax. Everyone was upset, so she sat down. My sister wasn't marked, so thus her own non-belief was confirmed. Birth and pregnancy are a time of extreme anxiety, not only for the mother, but also for the family. Thus it seems logical that beliefs such as this, would arise. By a superstition like this, a mother may also take more precautions so that she is not in any precarious position which may scare her. By avoiding these situations, she may, in her mind, be helping the unborn child. (Dorson, p. 337; Brendle, p. 218)

Many of the student collections of ethnic folklore use grandparents as their main source, but one student collected all of his Ukrainian folklore from six friends aged 20 through 25, and they are amazingly tuned in to their own cultural heritage. All of their parents are from the Ukraine, but four of them were born in Germany and two in the United States. The father of one first came into contact with the western world when he witnessed an airplane "dogfight" over his fields during World War II. After the War, many people left the Ukraine because of the Russian takeover. They escaped to Germany, and many eventually ended up in the United States. They brought a strong sense of their nationality with them which has been passed on to their children largely through attendance every Saturday for twelve years at a Ukrainian school. Here they learned the language, history, traditional sword dances, and music of the Ukraine. They have maintained their ethnic identity after leaving home and have formed a Ukrainian Club at Ohio State.

A sampling of the lore being carried on by these young men follows. Even though they do not live where storks are common, they still remember a superstition concerning storks.

If a stork builds a nest on your house you will have good luck, (babies not mentioned). The Ukraine had a lot of storks. But all are sure that babies are not mentioned. This may be an off shoot of the "Golden Bird" legend. Maybe it is traceable to the Greek bird followers.

More likely to be actively practiced and not just remembered are the Ukrainian customs concerning weddings and holidays. The wedding customs mentioned below are easily practiced even in a new environment, and the Easter customs are still practiced because they are reinforced by their formal religion.

"Before each wedding the three oldest men would come over to the bride's house. Each one has to ask the father . . . if he would let her marry . . . I think he refuses a couple of times. Each old man has to ask if the daughter can be married. Once the father agrees, they've got some kind of towels they wear with embroidery on it. They tie it around them (old men and father) and they agree on the marriage. If they disagree the father is supposed to give them a pumpkin. And they are supposed to stay there all night trying to convince the father to let his daughter marry. They do it and then they come out in the morning."

Some form of this custom of buying the bride is still traditional today, evenin American weddings.

Icon of Jesus Christ displayed on Holy Thursday, (John disagrees, says at 7:00 Friday evening). All the windows were draped. The icon was just before the altar. Roman says that there is a 12 sermon service; at the end of the first six gospels bells were rung. At the end of the last six gospels wooden clappers were clicked because no bell was allowed to ring. The clappers were a hand-held piece of wood with a handle on the bottom and a hammer-like thing on the top. The service lasted for hours and hours.

The icon lays before the altar all day Saturday. On each of these days the icon is led around the church three times and the clappers are used prior to each service. Food for Sunday is blessed on this day. On Sunday morning everybody gathers outside the door of the church. There is a short service and then the doors to the church open All of my informants theorize that this means that "Christ has risen". The bells start ringing again. Pussy willows are used instead of palms. "You come out and tap each other on the shoulders with these reeds and recite a poem" which translates roughly as "I am not hitting you, the palms are . . ."

A red egg is symbolic here but no one remembers why. "Each kid has his own holy egg and all kids crack them against each other after service. Whoever has the strongest egg wins." (solid colored eggs). It is big status to crack someone's egg, "get his yolk" according to Roman and Oleh. After the service, Easter dinner begins by all members of the family eating a piece of one blessed egg. Then all of the food blessed the day before is mixed in a bowl; sausage, dried cottage cheese, horseradish, ham, cheese, etc. Everyone eats it along with homemade bread.

John adds that the "fuzzy-balled thing" at the tip of each pussy willow should be eaten after it has been blessed by "Mr. Easter-something". This is done to keep sore throats away. The egg symbolizes life; the bird from the shell is compared with Christ from the tomb. Bells are also traditional spirit gatherers.

The narrative folklore tradition is also still strong among them with both anecdotes and folk tales playing an important part. One anecdote is based on language misunderstanding which is a widespread theme in immigrant lore.

This is true. ("Dumpa" means ass). "My mom, she was about 18, and her girlfriend were sitting at home and they knew this one Polack who was he used to come over and visit them all the time (in old country). . . he didn't know Ukrainian, but he wanted to, you know, so that he could talk better with them." One time he thought that he would be really cool so he was out on the street one time and he asked this Ukrainian dude how to speak "Can I light my cigarette". And the guy tells him in Ukrainian "this is how you say it", but instead of cigarette he said "Dumpa". (Can I light my ass). "He goes over and he's sitting around and his hand in his pocket, you know, and he acts really cool, you know. He pulls out this pack of cigarettes and says 'Can I light my dumpa?' They look at him and say, "What did you say?" "Can I light my dumpa?" They're laughing and rolling on the ground. He couldn't figure out what was happening. They finally told him what he said and he got so embarrassed he left. He didn't come back for two weeks.

Told to him by his mother as a true story.

The following folktale is a typical European tale dealing with love and magic, and it is still entertaining in a new land. With such a strong traditional sense established in this generation, the folklore should be passed on to the next.

> A young girl, Hyma, loves a young man Tymoush. They are to be engaged but Tymoush falls in love with another girl, Olena. Tymoush gives Hyma no reason why he doesn't love her anymore. Hyma is quite sad and in despair. She loves Tymoush very much and doesn't want to lose him. To prevent their marriage she visits a witch (female) in the dark woods and gets a few charm spells. Hyma doesn't want to harm Olena but her jealousy overwhelms her. When the opportunity occurs, she turns Olena into a crow and her brides' maids into birds and they fly away. No sign of Olena and her brides' maids so the villagers and Tymoush presume they are dead. In time, Tymoush reluctantly marries Hyma. She is happy, but Tymoush is not fully in love with her. One day while the couple are talking outside their home a small flock of birds fly above their heads and make much noise. Hyma gets very nervous and tries to convince Tymoush to shoot them. Tymoush doesn't understand why and refuses. One bird keeps flying near Tymoush and seems to be trying to tell him something. Tymoush for some reason admires the bird. All of the sudden a black crow attacks the flock. Tymoush grabs the gun and shoots the crow before harm comes to the birds. When the crow hits, it turns into Hyma and the other birds fall dead and transform back into Olena and her brides' maids. The villagers realize what had originally occurred and bury them all by the church. Tymoush falls into despair and lets his life rot away.

Note the present tense throughout the story. The theme is basically the eternal triangle with the spurned lovers' revenge. But the ending is different; it is tragic for all. Perhaps this is to prove a point to the listener that charms should never be used in love. Oleh says he got the story (called 'Charms') from Marks Vovclok. Irony is the final device used here. Hyma turns into the crow that was Olena. She then assumes Olena's fate or in yoga jargon, assumes her karma.

A student of Slovenian heritage collected folklore from her mother, a great-aunt, and a friend who live in the United States, and two cousins who still live in Yugoslavia. She described the general cultural context in which the folklore exists.

Cultural transmission of customs, beliefs and other folk items from the "old" to the "new" country is widespread in our heritage. Even though Slovenia is a small country, the emigrant population is relatively high. Most of the settlers set up small communities in the Cleveland and Chicago areas and continue even today their beliefs through churches, schools, and clubs. The items collected are part of a small cultural heritage, functioning still in the native country but an important contribution to the diverse cultures of America.

Her own pride in the culture comes out in this statement and in her presentation of the lore. A cultural value which is present in many European ethnic groups can be seen in two of the Slovenian items. The proverbial phrase "so thin you can't make a shadow." and the folk recipe and cure for stimulating the appetite show the importance of good nutrition and relationship of good eating and health in the culture.

So thin you can't make a shadow.

(Collected from a 54 year old woman from Cleveland by her daughter in 1973.) My mother remembers her mother saying this, especially when they were young as she felt that being thin was a sign of being unhealthy. She said her mother was an excellent cook and was always concerned that everyone has enough to eat. (Brown, p. 336)

To stimulate the appetite give toasted bread with boiled wine with cinnamon sticks and sugar.

(Collected in 1973 from a 20 year old man who was born in Slovenia.) Informant states that this was a treat to receive and usually if their parents would give them this that they would eat the regular meal. He states that he does think it stimulates the appetite because of the sweetness causing a craving for more food.

An older custom of women wearing long hair has been altered in American society, and the custom of treating children on the Feast of Innocence in Slovenia has been dropped entirely in the United States.

For a woman to get her hair cut, it is a disgrace.

(Collected from an 89 year old woman from Joliet, Illinois in 1973.) Mrs. B. states that this was a very widespread practice in the "old" country and it is still practiced now. If a woman cut her hair, it was a disgrace to her womaness. Most of the women that emigrated to America eventually cut their hair, but many, like my grandmother, practiced this belief their entire life. Mrs. B. cut her hair after living in Chicago a few years, and she has not let it grow long again. (Brown, p. 495, vol. 6)

On the Feast of the Innocence, the children from the village, visit the homes and are given a treat of fruit or special kinds of bread. If the child is not given anything at a house, he is allowed to yell and knock on the door until he receives something.

(Collected from a 62 year old woman from Cleveland in 1973.) This is an equivalent of Halloween in America. The Slovenes celebrate it on the Feast of the Innocents because this is the day of memory of cruelty to innocent children. Therefore on this day the children have the "upper-hand" over the adults. It indicates a profound interest and reverence for saints and feasts that are significant in the Catholic religion, of which most Slovenes are a part of.

All of the ethnic collections to this point were made by students who were members of the particular group; it is also possible for an outsider to learn about an ethnic group and produce a fine collection, as was the case with a student who collected Serbian folklore from two friends and two professors. She described one of her informants in this way:

Pam T., student, age 20, Canton, Ohio.

Pam's grandparents came to this country before her parents were born. Her main contacts with the Serbian culture have been through the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Serbian tournaments. She remembers going to her grandparents' as a child and that they followed many of the customs, but she doesn't remember very many. She knows most of the Serbian folk dances and enjoys going to the tournaments where they dance far into the night. The tournaments are simply a time to get together and are essentially a reunion for the Serbs. They eat and drink and play Serbian music while reminiscing about the old country. She knew only a few superstitions and several of the customs surrounding the holidays.

This informant is a third-generation Serb in America and, although she has lost much of the folklore, she is actively carrying on the dance tradition. One custom she remembered in detail was Slava, the family's name day.

"Slava"

Every family has a name day. Someone, perhaps a grandfather, picks a saint and that day becomes your Slava. They have big dinners and go to church and there's always a special part in church for those whose Slava is that day. "It's a family tradition, it gets down the line. Like if my father, if we had any sons in the family then automatically his name day would be St. George. If I marry a Serb I would take his on but if I don't marry a Serb and I still want to carry on the tradition I would still use St. George, you know, things like that. It's just something that the whole family's together on. It's like the whole family gets together, that's the traditional part of it. We have all Serbian food, all Serbian everything. Everybody gets together. Well, usually on a Slava day they bake their own bread and while baking the bread they put coins in it, or a coin. And you break off pieces of the bread and whoever gets the coin is supposed to have good luck for the next part of the year. You have a glass of wine and everybody passes the wine, you know, from the same glass, it's a sharing thing, bringing the family close together in doing one particular thing." (Collected from a 20 year old woman student from Canton.)

The other young informant remembered many more customs and superstitions, probably because she lives with her parents in a Serbian community in Lorain. The contact with other Serbs reinforces the traditions. She knew many details about the belief in witches in Serbia.

> Vestica or witch is a commonly believed in occurance. They can appear in many different forms.
>
> "It normally happens to people that are light skinned, fair haired. And what it is is in the early morning hours, just before dawn, right around dawn, when you're half asleep and half awake, you can feel this presence come into your room. And you can feel it get up on your bed. And like it's right there and it's breathing, really heavy by you, you know, and you can tell from the room. What happens, well, it used to happen to my aunt so my grandmother told her, 'Well, the way you get rid of it is you put something sharp by the window and by the door and that way it won't come in and bother you.' Well, my aunt did it one night and it didn't come. She woke up and she said, 'this is really silly, you know, like superstitious. I'm not going to believe this stuff.' So she took the stuff away, she took the razor away from the window and and the knife away from the door and she went back to bed. And pretty soon she felt this thing come into the room, start to get cold. And you can tell it's there. She felt it on her bed and she heard this breathing (imitates heavy breathing) and it really shook her up. So she jumped out of bed and put the stuff back at the window and the door and it didn't bother her any more." It happened to her aunt several times and to her father once. Serbs are usually dark skinned people so it is not surprising that they expect strange things to happen to the few, fair-skinned people. Vestica are very common, Father told me "everybody saw at least once some kind of vestica." Often it is someone you meet on the road. Jan told me her grandmother met one when she was walking down the road one night in Serbia. She met a man who warned her not to go down a certain road. When she looked down she noticed he had the feet of a goat so she listened to what he said and went home another way. They didn't know what would have happened if she had taken the road. Father's brother also ran into one one night and she wouldn't let him pass. He laughed about it but he added that his brother swears that it's true. This culture is full of belief in the supernatural and this is one of the forms it appears in. (Collected from a 19-year old woman from Lorain in 1973.)

She also talked about the belief in the evil eye and a method of protection against it; this is a belief which is found among many different ethnic groups including the Italian.

> Special pouches are given to babies to protect them from from the evil eye.
>
> "Okay well, the evil eye. My grandmother was really good at making up pouches. And this would be like if when a baby was born, if you were afraid that the evil eye was going to get it, people would go to my grandmother and she would make up a pouch. It'd be a little sack they'd wear around their necks and it would be a piece of cotton, a nail, a piece of coal, I think some wood. I'm pretty sure that's about all. And she'd take it over to the house and she'd pray over the child and they'd tie this pouch around its neck. This was supposed to take care of the kid so no evil spirits would get to it or the evil eye would bother it. But I can't tell you why she put those things in the pouch. I don't know anything about that." Father Matejic also knew about putting pouches around the baby's neck but the pouches he knew about had only garlic in them. Childhood diseases and infantile death were very common in Serbia, at least in earlier times, so precautions against such occurances were developed in an attempt to protect the young.

She did not believe in the evil eye, but she did partially believe in the superstition that the first person who enters your house on Christmas Day will determine your luck for the year probably because her own experiences reinforced it.

> "Christmas day the first person who comes to your house is known as the Polazenik, which probably has something to do with beginning. For us they determine the luck for the rest of the year. If it's a male, you can be pretty sure you'll have good luck, and if it's a female, you can be pretty sure you'll have bad luck. You're supposed to have a gift for them when they come in. And when they come in they usually come in throwing wheat, grains of wheat, and saying, 'May your chickens and your hogs and your horses and your children multiply as the grains of wheat.' And you normally throw back walnuts at him because you don't want any more kids in the family. You ought to feed him, for sure he has to have a meal at your house as this will guarantee that you'll be able to have food during the year."
>
> "I know one year one of my friends was Polazenik, we fed him and everything. And that year we had the worst luck we ever had. My father broke his ankle, my grandfather died, I had problems with my family and school, and they were going to build a house and they couldn't get the lot first and then there was some ruling

> that you weren't allowed to build. Ah man, we had so many problems it was unbelievable. My mother said that if Ron came in the house first next year, she said, 'for sure he's not coming in. I want him far away from the house', and she kind of meant it. You know it just depends on who you have for Polazenik." Janice's family seems to believe in this much more than my other informants. This could be due to the fact that her family came from the village and has remained in Serbian communities. The other informants have contacts with other Serbs but they have had more education and have gotten away from the traditional communities.

A collection of Czechoslovakian lore was done by a student who used her parents and grandparents as informants. Her parents were born in Ohio, but her grandparents were born in Czechoslovakia and came to America at the age of fourteen. She collected a variety of interesting items, especially from her 76-year old grandmother who vividly remembers life in Czechoslovakia and carries on many old-world traditions. The grandmother speaks both Czech and English, so that many of the items were stated in both languages. The proverbial phrase "healthy as a nut" is reported in Czech, and the contextual information indicates that it is also a game and a superstition.

> Zdrovy aka orech. Healthy as a nut.
>
> (Collected from a 76-year old Perrysburg woman by her granddaughter in 1973.)
>
> One of the many traditions of Christmas was to play a guessing game using walnuts. The rules of the game are unimportant, but the prize for winning the game is the basis for the origination of the saying. The child who won the game was awarded a walnut. The nuts always looked good from the outside but it was the core or center of the nut that determined the child's future health. If the seeds or meat inside the orech (nut) were plump and sweet, the child would be blessed with good health. If the meats were shriveled or bitter, the child would be plagued with illness. The children all cheered and marveled at the sight of a healthy nut and replied, "You're as healthy as a nut." If the child became sick that year, his illness was attributed to the unhealthy orech. My grandmother relayed this saying and tale only as a form of entertainment. She says that she does not

believe that a nut can determine someone's fate and has passed this saying in oral tradition because it was referred to so often in her younger days.

The recipe for salted buns also contains some relevant contextual data which shows exactly what the transmission process is like between grandmother and granddaughter.

Salted Buns

Use two or three eggs - the yolks only
Use one sifter full of flour
Take some cold milk and scald it and dissolve one package of yeast in it
Sift a small hand of salt and a big hand of sugar in with the flour
Mix all that stuff together and then let rise; pat out on breadboard; cut into circles; place on greased sheet, and let rise again. Then bake in 350-400 oven.

If you want to put a filling in them, you take regular cottage cheese, cinnamon, one egg, raisins, and about 3 tbl. sugar. Mix this all together and put in the center of the round circles after they have risen the second time. When they are all finished baking, remove from oven, brush with butter and sprinkle with salt.

This particular recipe reflects the true way in which my grandmother prepares her meals and specialties. When making something like this, she usually improvises as she goes along; adding a little of this and a little bit of that. This also is a very good recipe, or so she says. I tried it a long time ago and the buns burned out as hard and tasty as bricks. I guess my little bit of this and little bit of that didn't compare to hers. My hands were a bit smaller than hers in those days too. When I asked for the specific ingredients, she often got frustrated at trying to figure out if her handful equalled ½ cup or whatever, so she preferred that I write it the way she cooked it. This may have given her the feeling that she knew something that no one else did. In looking at this recipe, it can be seen that cottage cheese and raisins are used in the latter part. Many of the Czech dishes use these ingredients along with nuts and especially poppy seed.

The grandmother was the family storyteller, and her repertoire included a catch tale and a traditional Czech folktale.

Once there was this old shepherd who had a whole bunch of sheep that he would take to the great wide pasture every day to let them graze. They would have to cross this very wide creek on a very narrow bridge. One by one the shepherd guided his flock of sheep over the bridge and when they get to the other side of the creek, I'll tell you the rest of the story.

I remember when my grandmother used to tell us this story. Like any young children, we would always ask her if the sheep were across the bridge yet so that she could finish the story. She just laughed at us and said that the sheep were pretty slow. This tale filled her need for entertainment as she was always so thrilled when our gullibility took its form. We used to sit in amazement as she began telling the tale because she was our number one story teller and she convinced us that what was happening was actually true. After we became older and wiser, or less ignorant as the case may be, we finally realized that she was putting one over on us. I had not heard the story for many years and had almost completely forgotten about it. When Grandma re-told the story for me for this collection project, I was expecting to find that the sheep had been eaten by a wolf. As she got towards the end of the story, she started cracking up because she realized that she had gotten me again. This tale also has a psychological function for her in that it revealed that she was the wisest and I, the most gullible.

Once upon a time, there was this old woman who wanted to cook some beans for dinner. She took some straw and lit it and put the beans in a pot on a trifus (3-legged trivet). One bean, a piece of straw, and a spark fell on the floor. They all decided that the old woman wanted to get rid of them so they decided to run away. The bean, she said that there was a creek they could cross. So they ran out the door and when they came to the creek, they didn't know how to get across. The bean said that the straw could drag himself across and the rest could walk across his back. The bean was the first to cross and then came the spark. When the spark got to the middle of the straw's back, he burned the straw in half and both fell into the river and floated away. The bean laughed so hard that she split. And that is why the bean has a seam in her today.

This folktale was a favorite bedtime story of my grandmother's when she was a little girl. Since she liked it so well, she relayed it to us hundreds and hundreds of times, and with each re-telling, the story got better and better. The words were shuffled around from time to time but the same old ending was always in sight. We totally believed that the bean actually did get its seam in this way and can remember Granny's chuckles of

> delight as she saw the wonder and fascination in our eyes. Even as she told the story this last time, she emphasized just the right words and paused in just the right places so that I could again find some fascination within the tale. A few times, she added a shepherd to the tale who came into the picture to sew the bean back together just in the nick of time. The general format and happenings in the story basically remained the same, except for this minor addition. For Grandma, the telling of the tale always served as a form of entertainment for her own self. Before we learned different, the story served the purpose of informing and educating us as to how the seam in the bean originated.

The contextual information on these tales indicates how important storytelling was in the family. The grandmother still has some items of traditional Czech folk costumes, and the student was able to describe them in detail and show the value her grandmother placed on them.

> Floor-length, brightly colored skirts, the young girls wore. They all had fine little plaits in them. Over the skirt they had a long dark apron with a little bit of fringe. (macrame) on the bottom. They also had white blouses with ~eal full and puffy sleeves. Over this, they wore tight vests with beautiful embroidery sewn on them. The dress-up clothes we wore had a lot more embroidery all over the costome. Everyone wore shiney boots up to the knee and girls all wore long braids with ribbons tied around their heads. They also wore shawls over their shoulders.
>
> The boys, they all had short hairs and it looked like a bowl was put on their heads when they got their hairs cut off. They usually wore hats that made them look like them Cossack men. They always wore white shirts made out of linens. They had the vests like the girls and had lots of hand-sewn embroidery too. They all wore black pants that went down to their calves. They wore black boots that met the pants at the calf. The pants were tucked inside the boots.
>
> Grandmother began telling me about the traditional dress of the villagers after a lengthy discussion about the Bestheda (a Slovak dance which is and was performed at various Czech festivals. The brightly colored costumes of the Czechs were worn. She has a few of the skirts, blouses, vests, and sashes which were worn in the dance and in the village. The embroidery work is all hand-sewn and is very beautifully made. A few years ago, Grandma visited her brother who is still residing in Bratislava. She said the

> dress is almost the same as when she had left her home many years back. "Many of the young boys had their chapkas (hats) filled with chicken feathers, flowers, or even straws from the family brooms. The girls all share in the sewing of the clothes and the costumes all turn out to be beautiful. It's not like here where people try to out-dress the other." Her value of the old style of living is reflected in this statement.

The student's mother was not familiar with as many traditions as the grandmother, but she did recall a game that was played with children and even the Czech words that went with it.

> Varile miceka kashiku na zelenu panvicu. Michla, michla,
> Tema do temu dola temu dala aj temu nedula
> parala, parala, parala--
> (While stirring with her finger in a child's palm.) A lady was cooking porridge on a green pan. She stirred and stirred. She gave some to this one (finger), to the next and the next and the last one (little finger) got none. Then the fingers scamper up the arm and tickle the child under the arm. (Collected from a 53-year old woman from Perrysburg by her daughter in 1973.)
>
> My mother used to perform this little finger game for us when we were very small children. It was much like "this little piggy" and since she spoke Slovak as she worked our fingers, the words were nonsensical to us and added to our enjoyment of the game. The use of porridge in this game reflects a traditional ethnic dish of the Gzechs. The game was instructive in that it helped to develop our skills in manual dexterity and also helped us in learning to hear and distinguish new sounds.

Greeks are a strong and visible ethnic group in Ohio. There are many professional Greek bands, Greek belly-dancers, Greek restaurants and bakeries in the state. Many Greeks travel back to Greece periodically so that ethnic identities are continually being reinforced. A good cross-section of Greek verbal lore was collected by a graduate student at Ohio State from other students who were from Greece. The collector wrote a perceptive, in-depth functional analysis of each item of folklore which adds to the overall value of the collection. The belief in the evil eye includes detailed contextual information which is a basis for a complex functional analysis.

You must be careful not to praise someone--especially if it's an infant--without spitting 3 times into its face or it will be cursed by the evil eye.

(Collected from a 22-year old male student from Greece living in Columbus in 1973.)
Mr. P. remembered an incident which seems to have served to strengthen his conviction in the traditional belief that even the most innocent and well intended expression of admiration can effect the blight of the evil eye. He recalled, "I was about 11 years old and we were going to our orchards, me on the donkey, holding my baby sister, and my mother pulling the donkey. We were passing by the house of PD. She was a very bad woman. She had a very evil eye. Now she's dead. She was 75 years old when she died. Well, we were going past her house, which, since was lying in the center of the village, we could not avoid it. She was out on the porch in front of the house and when she saw us passing she said, 'You're taking the pretty red one with you?', meaning my baby sister who had red hair. My mother did not like to hear this, and since she was on the porch we could not spit towards her house. And of course the old woman would not spit on my sister's face since she was evil. She was evil and she wanted to see to it that my sister some harm would come to her. And, well, you know 20 minutes later we were passing close next to some tall bushes on the side of the road and since we were sitting on the donkey my mother didn't realize that the branches were catching on to us and hitting us and she didn't realize to pull away. And the branches kept pulling on me and I couldn't hold onto my sister. I was trying with my hands to push back the bushes and I let go of my sister and she fell from the donkey and hit her head on the asphalt. Well, that's what happened. She had cursed my sister and that's the truth."

Mr. P related this memorate with an expression of terror and gravity. As he neared the end of his narrative he changed his sitting position and seated himself astride a chair in order to illustrate the manner in which he had tried to push back the branches of the bush with one hand and hold his sister with the other. The attention which he devoted to the details of D's life, as well as to his experience, testified to his total belief in this superstition.

Mr. P stated also that "ordinary people" who do not possess the evil eye must still be wary of expressing admiration for a young child, lest they involuntarily "bring on the curse of the evil eye". He recalled, "I remember when was born my sister and the relatives came all from everywhere around to see her. Most of them would say nothing about her--that she was pretty or sweet

> or anything. But the ones few who did would immediately spit down onto her face. I remember this time well. My mother forbid me to say anything that my sister was nice or something like that. This is how it was in our family."
>
> This incident served again to reinforce Mr. P's conviction in an already traditional belief.
>
> Socially, this superstition serves several functions. First, in emphasizing the importance of spitting three times (as a conversion ritual) it validates the belief in the mystical powers of religion, for behind the number '3' looms the legacy of the holy trinity. In this connection, it is interesting to note that spitting works two ways: sometimes the "spitter" is the person who does the admiring, and the "spittee" is the recipient of that admiration; sometimes--usually when the person who does the admiring "has a very evil eye", and, therefore, does not convert his words of praise by spitting himself--this situation is reversed. Second, it serves to remind the villagers of and warn them against a negative phenomenon of social behavior, viz. that jealousy and envy often masquerade in their neighbors as admiration, especially when the object of that admiration is held in high esteem by all (e.g. a child). Third, it works, as a shared belief, to stress the importance of interpersonal relations and community interaction: the opinions and actions of the villagers towards one another are variously seen as sources of anxiety, illness, injury, or even death. But it serves, as a shared belief, also, to encourage a sense of community spirit: the well-intentioned villager who expresses innocent admiration for the possessions of another also performs some sort of conversion ritual to counteract his words, thus guaranteeing his sincerity; the ill-intentioned villager who expresses malicious admiration--really envy--for the properties of another finds that his words trigger the alarm not only of another villager, but of the entire community mobilized against a common threat.
>
> Psychologically this superstition serves to afford the faithful (in the conversion ritual) a sense of control over the traditionally magical power of words which are often--though not always--uttered merely unintentionally, by chance. And it works to provide the faithful with a means of rationalizing unpleasant events by locating their causes in the powers of the evil eye.

Another belief about the evil eye has a legend related to it, and again the collector analyzes the social and psychological functions of the belief and legend.

If, when you are to be married, you do not take special care to please the one who has the evil eye, the curse will fall upon you.

Mr. P remembered a legend which served to strengthen his conviction in this traditional belief. He recalled: "There was once a very beautiful girl in our village. She was 21 and was to be married in 2 weeks. This happened 13 years before I was born. She was walking to the orchards to pick the cherries. Well, she was forced to pass by the house of PD. The old woman was sitting in front of her house and said to this girl, 'Hello beauty'. She had a very evil eye that woman. They say her 2 sisters had the evil eye too but not so bad as her. (shaking head from left to right, sic.) Well, this beautiful girl passed by the house without saying anything to the old woman. She just didn't say anything, not even hello. So D called out to her, she called out to this beautiful girl, 'I hope you don't see the light of the next day'. Well, this girl got to the cherry orchards and she climbed one cherry tree. She was pretty high up in the tree. She was picking the cherries. There was this bush underneath the tree that had 2 pointed branches. They were bare, the branches. They didn't have any leaves. Only those 2 points. They were sticking up high above the rest of the bush. And this beautiful girl slipped from the tree. She just lost her balance and slipped down and fell and hit those two pointed branches of the bush and she died. She died on those 2 branches. This really happened. Everyone knows this. It happened 30 years ago. She died on those 2 pointed branches."

Mr. P related this narrative with absolute conviction. His use of the past tense throughout, his attention to details of time and place, and his insistence that "this really happened" express his total belief in this legend (which legend satisfies the demand both for narrator-belief and listener-belief, for the collector is totally convinced of its truth). And his belief in this legend has served to reinforce his total belief in the superstition which it corroborates.

In analyzing this superstition it is interesting to note just how it parallels the legend which Mr. P. provided. The structure of the superstition (although expressed negatively above) is basically the following:

(i) condition: if an engaged woman shows disrespect for the one who "has the evil eye"
(ii) result: then she will encounter harm

The structure of Mr. P's narrative is roughly the following:

(i) Initial situation: On her way to the orchard to pick cherries "this beautiful girl" passes the house of the local evil-eyed woman.
(ii) interdiction: Don't show disrespect to the woman with the evil eye when you are soon to be married.
(iii) violation: "This beautiful girl" shows disrespect to the woman with the evil eye by not greeting her.
(iv) consequence (lack): "This beautiful girl" loses her life when she falls from a cherry tree soon after her encounter with Parthenopi.
(v) no attempted escape (see Propp in bibliography)

This analysis shows that the condition cause of the superstition combines the interdiction and violation segments of the supporting legend) the result clause of the superstition parallels the consequence of the legend. And the similarities of structure between the two folk expressions suggest similar functions.

Socially, this superstition serves first to warn the villagers of the dangers of conceit and self concern at a time of life during which they might be especially prone to those tendencies: in her gay anticipation of marriage, a young woman often tends to center most of her attentions on herself and her marital preparations at the expense of others. In the legend provided by Mr. P the girl was obviously so wrapped up in her own thoughts (and perhaps her extreme beauty, emphasized by Mr. P throughout his narration) that she ignored Parthenopi. Second, this superstition serves to remind the villagers of an unhappy fact about human nature, viz. that admiration often masks envy. A young woman about to marry might expect the congratulations and admiration of the local folk; but she must also expect that some of the folk will be a bit jealous of her lucky situation. In the legend given above, D addresses the girl as "Beauty"; perhaps "this beautiful girl" mistakenly took the old woman at her word. Finally, this superstition works to reinforce a sense of community solidarity among the villagers, for all of the villagers know that at the crucial moments in their lives they must all take precautions against a common social threat--envy--personified usually in the old woman known locally to have the evil eye.

Psychologically, this superstition serves to provide the faithful with a sense of security during a time of uncertainty: a girl ready to marry can relieve her anxieties by doing something material about them. In appeasing the local evil-eyed woman she gains also a degree of psychological control over the uncertainties which must certainly affect most young women (and men) before they take a step as important as marriage.

> Before leaving this superstition, it is important to note that Mr. P. defined "pleasing the one with the evil eye" as bringing her gifts as well as paying her verbal respect. He recalled that on market day, as well as before weddings, the villagers were in the habit of bringing D gifts of food, cloth, or wares before going to market in order to guarantee a successful venture.

It is interesting that although her informants are young college students in the United States, they maintain a strong sense of national identity through their folklore.

That same sense of ethnic identity can be seen in the lore of a 73-year old Italian woman who was the subject of a folklore collection by her granddaughter. The entire project was on one individual, and the collector provided very detailed information on the life and personality of her grandmother so that the meaning the folklore has for her becomes clear. The complete informant information section of the collection project follows.

> Name of Informant: Giovanna
> Age: 73 years
> Ethnic Background: Southern Italian: Calabrian
> Occupation: Housewife
>
> G, the daughter of a moderately prosperous orchard owner, was born in Motta San Giovanni near Reggio, Calabria, Italy, in the year 1900.
>
> She had two sisters, one married, Margarita, and Rosa, a frail girl quite the opposite of her healthy, vivacious sister, Giovanna, who also happened to be her father's "bella", his "pretty". There was a married brother, Pietro, and fifteen-year old Anthony.
>
> When I was very very young, Grandma would point out to me the map of Italy and designate the place of her birth, childhood, and young adulthood which took place in the toe of that grand boot. The stories she told of swimming in the Mediterranean Sea, of buying fish from the fishermen, some from the island of Sicily, the picturesque scenes she made come alive before my eyes of the blue-green waters, all these and many more have been just a portion of the southern Italian culture to which I have been introduced by my grandmother.

And the grand waterways surrounding her land are actually only a small segment of her life which took place mainly in a branch of the Apennine Mountains of Italy. Motta San Giovanni, her birthplace, was situated at about a one-thousand feet altitude and maintained a population of approximately eight thousand. Visits to the sea, although impressive, were occasional.

I had seen Italy only from a map. As I crossed the Alps from Switzerland into Italy by train, I somehow felt as though I had been there before, and I had, through my grandmother's eyes. The mountains in Italy, although not as celebrated as some other aspects of the country, are beautiful in a rustic, wooded way. This view was had in the north of Italy. However, the village of Giovanna's birth was located near the top of a mountain and thus proved very similar in surroundings, except for the fact that there existed less trees in the south.

The fresh water streams brought to mind stories Giovanna told of producing veritable white washes from those waters, of cool baths, and, of course, refreshing drinks provided by man-made fountains or wells. Many sources attest to the water shortage that prevailed in Calabria and nearby regions. Grandma, while recalling conflicts over water rights, felt less friction in this matter, the reason being that the Passanitas lived at one of the highest points in the mountains and, in effect, had first chance at the water. She does remember one conflict over water into which her father entered not too many years before she left for America. It was about this time that legal steps were being taken in the matter and the climate was producing even less rainfall.

Hidden among those mountains are also seasonal, fog-ridden lakes, serene and secretive. Giovanna remembers that these would totally dry up during the increasing rainless spells. Surrounding these mountains are chained sequences of mountain villages, the center of which are the churches and the outside cafes, reflecting the "campanilismo" or regionalism of the area.

Although Giovanna's younger life was far from plagued by hunger or lack of what she deemed vital mecessities, it was both an isolated, hard-working, and, at the same time, carefree existence. Because of the sheltered way she was reared, which was the custom of the day and the area, and the religious practices based upon Catholicism, her life was confined to the land, the church, minimal schooling, and occasional visits to the nearest large town, Reggio, for shopping or saints' days celebrations. Saints' days celebrations were also held in the small villages. The patron saint, or protector, of Motta San Giovanni was St.

John the Baptist. The English equivalent for Giovanni is John, thus the village was named for him.

While under strict surveillance upon leaving the farm, her father's land provided ample "leg" room and much freedom. Giovanna remembers numerous, happy days helping her father oversee the hired hands, the fruit pickers, and, in general, assist in supervising the land which consisted roughly of about 50 acres, originally, enough land to provide an independent living for a family.

Of course, Giovanna came inherently to love the figs, cherries, plums, oranges, peaches, grapes, apricots, apples, and assortment of nuts, and various species of olives which grew lushly on the property. She also learned traditionally to cook and can or preserve these products, bake bread by the dozens of loaves at the "fornello", or community oven, due to the shortage of wood and charcoal in this area, and cook that delicious Italian cuisine.

She did washings on rocks in the mountain streams and, in contrast to all of these, was elected by her village to participate in a parade to celebrate the ill-fated Mussolini, who, at that time, was considered a "hero", a man who would lead the Italians to restoration of past glories. However, her father objected because he did not approve of this type of activity for his daughter, even though he favored Mussolini.

At the age of nineteen, a marriage to an Italian man in America, Charles Pasquali, a "paesano", was contracted for her by her father. However, travel regulations required that she be twenty-one years, and thus, two years later, at age twenty-one, she set sail for a foreign land, completely alone. Hers was not to be the great wedding celebration as was the custom of the day and area. She left her parents and all other family behind at the place of embarkation, Naples, and was never to see them again.

Fifteen days and fourteen nights later, she met a man at a harbor in New York, a man who was twenty-one years her senior and a widower with five children by his previous marriage.

The situation seems very difficult. It might be questioned why her father allowed her to leave Italy knowing he would probably never see her again, and it might be asked why a marriage to a man with an already-made family was contracted. But one must remember the dream of going to America, "America", the land of "gold-paved streets" that was the desire of millions of foreigners around the turn of the century. In America, believed her father she would be given greater opportunities, perhaps great wealth.

In America, Giovanna might survive the war that was inevitable for Italy, World War I. And he wanted also to spare her the problems that could not be ignored in southern Italy, the growing economic and ecological problems. Wealth, in a monetary sense, she never realized. War she survived.

The conditions under which her newly acquired family was living were far from rich. Charles was a hard worker and good provider, but he was unable to manage well the domestic care of his children as well as be their "bread winner" after his first wife's death. So, Grandma settled into her new, chaotic life with faith in God, enthusiasm, courage, and a great deal of well-hidden homesickness. She loved Charlie. He should never know the sickness in her breast. What a change from the life she had known!

She did not speak a word of the language and yet, this same woman who did not know to "lick" an ice-cream cone, saw her children through school, did the marketing, and performed all the "new" domestic chores, and after having moved to Ohio, bore six more children of her own and reared two others during the Great Depression. Perhaps her father knew that she would be prepared for any hardship. He could rely on her past history.

Once during a devastating earthquake in Italy, one which nearly "swallowed up" her own house, she rescued her mother and sister. She went through row after row of dead victims in the village and in Reggio unveiling their racked bodies searching for relatives. She "cured" a sick dog by pulling a tape worm from its throat. She physically beat an older boy who insulted her father. Yes, she was spirited and he knew it. Giovanna could survive and she has. And now she considers herself a wealthy woman. "My children have made me rich."

All of the above is a testament to the strong will and courage of Giovanna, but I dare say, anyone who has come into contact with her will also testify to her physical beauty, radiant personality, and sense of humor.

Giovanna's traditions have permeated her lifestyle in America and have influenced and enriched the lives of all those about her. These have been manifested greatly and with much enjoyment at the table in the form of all seasonal delicacies, such as the "jumbilita", a special raised Christmas cookie with anise seasoning, the flat, flower-shaped, waffle-type Easter delight, and the "sweetbread" baked also especially at Eastertime.

She delights in preparing the Italian "pasta" or macaroni dishes such as spaghetti, rigatoni, or vermicelli with many different types of sauces, the home-made bread, and special salad and vegetable dishes all made with pure olive oil. When Grandpa was alive, homemade wines were always served.

Her great interest and excitement has always permeated the religious and holiday customs, such as Baptism, Confirmation, First Holy Communion, as well as weddings and Christmas etc. She places God and religion above all else and depends upon "Him" to care for her family and help her through all rough times. She attends Mass very often, almost daily and has donated much time to the Church throughout her life. I can't remember ever being with my grandmother when she hasn't said, "God Bless!" or "Jesu, Josephe, Maria!" or "Thank God".

She loves people and has never closed her door to anyone. This generosity is a virtue common to all Italians and is a value she has impressed upon all her children. Although she accepts all epople, Giovanna ascribes still to the "superiority" of the European, specifically Italian, man. As she says, "They no can be beat." Her loyalty to her husband was outstanding and "Charlie" came first in everything.

One of her greatest assets is her great style of storytelling. Oh, to be able to capture her style on paper! At times she becomes so involved in her tales that she begins to speak bilingually. This often proves difficult for a person unaccustomed to her shifting from one language to another, and worse yet, to a person who cannot understand a word of Italian. However, in the folklore genres that follow, she spoke very fluently in "her" English. And she delights in producing an abundant, dramatically portrayed supply, the gestures of which are described within the items.

With the understanding of this woman provided by her biography, the folklore she talks about becomes more meaningful. The traditional expressions she uses in her everyday life can be seen, not as sacriligious, but just the opposite, tied directly to her deeply felt religious convictions.

"Madonna!"

The word "Madonna" means Madonna, the word for the Mother of God and, at a more secular level, lady. The Italians use the expression in many ways and at many levels. One of these is much the same as the American expression, "Oh, mother!" that is said out of disgust or anger and sometimes just surprise.

It is basically religious and is often said as a means of petition for aid to the Blessed Mother. Equally common is the use of the word to express disgust, surprise, or wonder, Use in the first of these may seem sacriligious but one must understand the context and intent of the speaker before he can make such judgments. The word is used actually almost inseparably as religious or a-religious.

The expression functions socially and psychologically in that it supports belief in a figure who enters strongly in the society socially as well as religiously, the Blessed Mother, and is also an outlet, an emotional expression, used to show surprise or wonder or release anxiety in particular situations. (Variant)

"Jesu, Josephe, Maria!"

This means Jesus, Joseph, Mary and refers to the "Holy Family". In this very common proverbial saying, the most outstanding value it reflects is that of the strong family tradition. The Holy Family serves as the model for all families.

Interesting to note is that the Italian model names the two men first. The American Catholic say, "Jesus, Mary, and Joseph" as an equivalent expression. This pattern denotes the level of significance of each person. Jesus would be the highest figure, then his mother, then the earthly father. Perhaps the Italian order is based on euphonism, the sound of the two J's together being "easier on the ear" and easier said the flowing style of the Italian language. It also serves a psychological function, as does the above expression.

Her total belief in the "evil eye" is indicated by the memorate she tells.

"Mal 'Occhio" (Evil Eye) work by people who are jealous. My sister-in-law, she say it happen to her, the one she die.

One day, she make so many blouses, cut and sew in no time. A lady come and say, "Gee, you do lots of sewing. You work like electrica!" (electric, very fast) At that minute my sister-in-law say she got sick at once with the head. She can do nothing anymore. She call someone to take mal'occhio away. Some people know who to call for her. Some kind of people like fortune teller know what to do. She put oil in a bowl with cold water and the oil forms a design like a bad tongue. (gestures a snake movements with her fingers) They have to say prayer over oil. They

> pour oil and do it again and again. Then my sister-in-law feel better. She say, "Thank this lady. I could have die." (I don't know who was this lady.) She (the sister-in-law) never let anyone watch her sew no more."
>
> Belief in the evil effects or bad luck brought upon one by exposure to the "Evil Eye" is timeless in the Italian tradition and continues to exist at a strong level in America and not just in Italian families.
>
> The basis of it is envy. As Giovanna says, the lady with the mal'occhio expressed praise, orally in this case, (taken as envy) at the other woman's sewing success. This inflicted a bad headache upon the sewer immediately and rendered her incapable of completing her work. The "Evil Eye" is believed to be a mystical, in-born trait in certain men and women which gives them the power, unconsciously or consciously, to bestow bad luck, ill health, poor finances, etc., on others merely by a glance, an expression of praise, or lack of expression of an expected social saying such as "God Bless" or "Thank God" after a statement of praise.
>
> A witch, in this case, a "good" one, capable of performing the proper rituals to break the magic of the "spell" was called in. Giovanna refers to her as a type of fortune teller, which I believe to be an attempt to explain the "witch-like" qualities of the lady. This particular witch placed oil and water in a bowl until the design of a "bad tongue" was formed. This probably means a "snake-like" form, as Giovanna gestures a snake's movement at this point in the memorate. She explains that it was the woman's expression of praise that meant that it was the power of the "evil" tongue that had to be broken. After repetition of the ritual several times and prayers over the bowl each time, the sister-in-law's headache left and she was able to continue her work, this time with more caution.
>
> Belief in the "Evil Eye" figures very strongly in the social traditions of the culture because it is essentially etiological, in some cases, a theory of causation, and is complete with avoidance practices and ritual. Apparently the account was told to Giovanna by her deceased sister-in-law.

Both the superstition and the story can be viewed in the overall context of the supernatural beliefs of southern Italian culture which still has a strong influence on her. The belief in the supernatural and her Catholicism are related and many of the legends and memorates she tells show this relationship.

"This was the day when Our Lord Jesus travel. My mother and my grandmother used to tell me. It was on Friday. This be all generations, hundreds and hundreds of years when Jesus would try people. Nobody could tell who was Jesus. He dresss in rags and like a poor man go knock door to door and he ask people the directions and how far he had to go to get to such and such a place. He say, "Would you tell me how far I got to go to get to such and such a place?"

When he knock one door, the lady answer and she say, "What can I do for you?" She had her hands full of dough (gesture of hands) and she feel sorry because she can't go any farther because she work the dough. But she came out on porch and say what direction--like turn west (points west) and point out the way. When she came back in the house, the big tub was full of dough! God had blessed her. Then she knew the man must have be Jesus. She had enough to make 100 loaves!"

Grandma added afterwards that God supposedly blessed dough that is mixed on Friday. This explains why she specifically names Friday. The oral tradition of the legend is obvious from the fact that Giovanna refers to the telling of it to her mother by her grandmother, from her mother to her, and so on.

The most obvious value it reflects is, of course, religious belief. God supposedly traveled throughout the country testing people in their kindness and generosity to strangers. If they proved virtuous, they were rewarded or blessed as was this lady in the above legend. If not, they were punished.

The variant of this legend that follows depicts such a test that ends in punishment and is a continuation of the previous legend.

"God continue on his way. He stopped at this one place and knock on the door. The woman had long hair clear down to her waist. The man (Jesus) ask her the way. She say, "Oh, I'm busy. (gestures woman brushing her hair) You go this way." And she just tell him, not show him.

After he gone, all of her hair fall down. She was a bald. The old people say the same person who went to the lady's house and blessed her dough was at hers. (God) God punish her. It was too much for her to get up and show him."

It is interesting to note the interchange of the words, God and Jesus. Catholicism teaches belief in the Trinity, which symbolizes that there are three persons in God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Thus, the terms God and Jesus refer to the same person, God as the Father and Jesus as the Son.

"When I had my JoAnne sick, it was a miracle. She was a "bambino" (baby) and she had double pneumonia and some thing wrong at the stomach. This is a miracle of the saint! (clasps hands together and looks up (toward heaven).

Everybody says the old-fashioned pray to Saint John and St. John had a bad death. They cut his head off, you know. You know this yourself. Some ol' people tell me to ask St. John to give grace, believe in him, and maybe your baby will come back--she almost dead.

The people watch the baby upstairs. I was downstairs. I know my baby, she's almost gone (sigh) So, I got all my baby's clothes, diaper, panty, little dress, all baby clothes and I say to myself the baby dead and I put them in the drawers. You know we had a coal stove them a day, 1927--no, I think it was 25. I went upstairs. Four, five or six were all around the bed. My sister-in-law touch the baby and she was "fredo" (cold) all over. She covered the baby with the blanket. It was snow outside. She say, "No cry." She was from Italy and she tell me to pray to St. John as hard as you want baby to live. She say, "You know there are seven brothers of St. John." Mary Anna say to me, "Learn the rosary of St. John. The baby not quite dead now." I say, "I don't know it" and cry. In ten minutes, I learn and now, you know, I can't remember it. Then she tell me to listen for some kind of sign. It was about 11:00.

By the end of the rosary, I no hear no thing. She (Mary Anna) say, "Be quiet!" (whispering) On South Cedar Street, two women were comin' from the grocery store. She say, "Ssh! Listen!" I say, "They argue over some thing." She say, "But you listen what they argue for." The two women stop in front of my house. They are two Black women. Finally, when they get under my window, one said, "They argue all day. He got mad and lock the door with a key and talk no more." I didn't understand. I was upset. I knew this was a sign. St. John wouldn't talk to me direct.

We went upstairs to the baby room and her eyes was open. I say, "Oh, dear. Miracle! Miracle!" That baby was (had been) dead "vero". (really) The baby she move now. All our family was happy."

At the end of the narrative, Grandma said that she still was worried about what had happened. Mary Anna told her to go to Vincenna, a cousin by marriage, and tell her the story. She would explain.

> Vincenna said that the two people arguing symbolized Our Lord and St. John. This woman, Vincenna, said Grandma, was older and knew more than she did. Vincenna said that St. John wanted to do Giovanna the favor of saving JoAnne but that God had opened the doors of heaven to the baby. So, St. John won the argument. (Jesus locked the door and refused to talk anymore.) Her baby stayed with her. She adds, "That's why I got my baby today."
>
> The saint referred to is St. John the Baptist, who was the patron saint of Giovanna's birthplace, Motta San Giovanna, named after him and one in whom she placed much confidence.
>
> This memorate of first hand experience depicts the intense belief in the existence of saints, a religious value. Saints were looked upon in much the same way as Greeks looked upon their gods, that is, on familiar footing with other men. (See annotation.) The one difference existed in means of communication. Giovanna remarks that a sign would be given and says that St. John would never speak directly to her. The interpretation of the sign is given by an older, more experienced woman and Grandma says specifically that the lady (Vincenna), who does the interpreting, is from Italy. This is an attempt by Giovanna to validate that such things can occur and did probably often in Italy. Perhaps she thinks only another Italian could really have understood the significance of the whole miracle.
>
> Grandma refers to St. John's having had seven brothers in her memorate which probably was an attempt to show that he would not want to see the family lose the addition as he was also from a large family. This aspect reinforces the strong family tradition inherent in the society.
>
> The motif of healing by saints can be found in many folk-groups. This motif also reinforces the strong sense of belief in supernatural phenomena common to south Italian culture.

Another legend is secular in nature and projects a concept of chance and fate in southern Italian culture as does the folk game she describes.

> "This is long. Now there is Good Fortuna (fortune) and Bad Fortuna. My father, uh, had a uncle, old man. One night, she's uh, woman, she went into his bed and say, "Hey, Antonio, wake up." He sleep. (makes snoring sounds) She shakes him and say, "Listen to me. Get up and come with me." He say, "Where?" She say, "Listen to what I say. If you want Good Fortuna, come with me." He see her earrings shining and a woman's shadow. She say, "If you want to be rich, I'm the Good Fortuna." He say, "I no believe." She say, "You better believe me." She work so hard he finally get up.

They walk and walk and walk until they get to the cemetery. There are mountains and bad roads, uh, rough. When they get to the front of the cemetery, they got big walls, like over here you no see (refers to American cemeteries) (gestures a large wall) and have big gates lock with pad-da-lock and are high. When they get to the gate, over there, (points away) some man come right up from nowhere. They never see before and the man say, "Where are you going?" She (Good Fortuna) say, "I want him to go with me because it is his night of fortuna, good luck. The other guy had a gun. He was Bad Fortuna. The woman's earrings still shine like a dime.

Bad fortuna answer, "No, you can't go through this gate."
Good Fortuna say, "But this fortune is for him."
"This fortune is not for him," say Bad Fortuna.
The man was so afraid that he listened to all things from Good and Bad Fortuna. All at once, a wind, a rain, and they had a big mountain--and the wind so strong it fly her (Good Fortuna) from the cemetery away up on a mountain and the man stood shakin' like a leaf.

Bad Fortuna say, "Well, Antonio, I no let you go through. Antonio is my second cousin. My daddy say this happen to him. So Bad Fortuna left and the lady (Good Fortuna) come back again. She say, "Now, Antonio, believe me. Tomorrow you go, when you get up, you walk, like from here to Divinos (about ½ mile) and climb a small mountain. When you climb over there you got a little tree." She give all directions. "You dig out under that tree. Look at what I want to give you."

The man went over there with his son because he no feel good. And this too bad--when they find tree, under the side is a big kettle full of silver, but the silver is all black like coal, no good no more. And the man die. He no live 2 or 3 days. His boy tell everybody. Silver all black like coal. (shakes her head in disappointmtnt) So the man got Good Fortuna and Bad Fortuna.

The reference to the good and bad fortune described in this legend reflects the "chance" element inherent in a society that is basically uncertain about survival. Livelihood depended mainly upon climate and good crops. However, in this tale, Giovanna indicates clearly her protagonist, Antonio, has the power to decide his own fate. She refers to his listening to the arguments from both sides, Good and Bad Fortuna.

The woman awakening the man while he sleeps is somewhat unclear. There is no implication that the woman is the man's wife, but strong evidence implies her "witchcraft" or the "wise woman" image. She appears as a shadowy figure with shining earrings and she flies, with the aid of the wind. The idea of the "witch" is southern Italian folklore does not necessarily mean a being from the world of the supernatural. Witchlike qualities could be part of the dual personality of a human being.

The man, referred to as Antonio, a cousin, is mentioned at the beginning of the tale and again midway through. This is probably an unconscious attempt to verify the story, since when the name is first mentioned, there is hesitation as to how she is related to him. She tells us her father told her the story, which again reinforces the oral tradition.

Ironically, she mentions that Antonio does not feel well and takes his son to the treasure site. He dies soon after. Could this explain the death? The fact that the silver is corroded and useless reinforces the theme that finding such treasure is certain to bring misfortune. Nothing in life comes so easily. This reflects the "fatalism" of the southern Italian. Life is difficult and one must accept it as it is.

The cemetery, the big gates, the stormy weather--all of these images are common to such tales. Also interesting is the use of the trite expressions by Giovanna in such descriptions as "black like coal," "shining like a dime" that reflect the influence of the English language in her verbal lore.

"The men, they had their fun too. They tie up your eye with a band but first they let you see all the pots hangin' from a rope above. They blind you (blindfold), turn you around a couple times and give a big stick. The men hit the pots-boom! (demonstrates striking at the pots) Someone get the 50 lires, the best one, some wine, some urine (laughing) and when the man hit pot, he got whatever was in--some good, some bad. People laugh and have a good time."

This adult game reflects very clearly the "chance" element of the society. The game takes place during a saint's day or feast day celebration. The man must choose his "pot" blindfolded. To him that chooses most wisely, will be a reward of 50 lires, approximately 10¢. To him that chooses an unlucky pot will come anything from wine to urine, the sight of the latter, of course, being a great means of enjoyment to the audience. Human error is seen as the basis for bad luck in the society as well as God's will and this game reflects this basic idea.

> The game is a means of releasing anxiety and functions psychologically. The festivals as a whole function socially as a chief means of recreation.

These are but a few items from a long collection, but they are representative of one woman's traditional knowledge and in some ways of Italian people in Ohio. Many Italians of the third and fourth generation have lost the rich folklore which this woman has, but other student collections indicate a knowledge of such superstitions as the evil eye even among young Americanized people of Italian descent, and the folk cooking traditions are still extremely vital.

To this point, all of the ethnic groups discussed came from Europe to the United States. There is another ethnic minority in Ohio which has European antecedents but which came from the southwestern United States and Mexico to Ohio. This is the Mexican-American group. The Mexican-American population has settled mainly in northwestern Ohio, in Toledo, Findlay, and the surrounding countryside. They have brought many of their traditional folkways with them; numerous Mexican restaurants in Toledo and Findlay attest to the vitality of their folk cookery.

Mexican folklore is a rich though untapped resource in Ohio. Each year between May and October thousands of Mexican families leave their homes in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas to travel north to Ohio and other midwestern states to harvest the crops on the farms. Although many of these migratory agricultural workers return to "el Valle" at the end of the season, many hundreds each year "settle out," that is, remain in Ohio permanently. Despite the fact that "el Valle" is in Texas, Americo Paredes includes this area in what he refers to as "Greater Mexico" because Mexican traditions and the Spanish language are shared by people on both sides of the Rio Grande. Mexican people who migrate into Ohio from "Greater Mexico" bring their language and cultural traditions with them. Much field work needs to be done to tap this rich resource of folklore in Ohio.

In studying the genres of Mexican folklore one gradually becomes aware of how much Mexican lore is religious in nature. For example, there are _autos_, or religious plays presented during the Christmas and Easter seasons, and _alabados_ (songs of praise) to the Christ Child and the Virgin Mary, as well as folk poetry composed by Mexican folk poets for the Virgin of Guadalupe, patroness and protectress of Mexican people. The following is an example of a song of praise composed by the folkpoet, Arnulfo Castillo, in Delta, Ohio, in 1974 collected by Inez Cardozo-Freeman. Señor Castillo referred to it as a _salutacion al amanecer_, a morning greeting to the Virgin.

Virgen Soberana	Sovereign Virgin
Buenos días, Blanca Paloma,	Good morning, White Dove,
Aurora de la mañana,	Dawn of the morning,
bella estrella reluciente	Beautiful shining star
de mi patria mexicana.	of my Mexican homeland.
Como reina d'este suelo	As Queen of this land,
mi corazén te reclama.	my heart claims you.
A tí, Virgencita linda,	You, pretty little Virgin,
a tí, Reina Soberana.	you, sovereign Queen.
A tí, venimos cantando	We come to you singing
con el corazón y el alma.	with our heart and soul,
A tí, Virgencita linda,	to you, pretty little Virgin,
mi Virgen Guadalupana.	my Guadalupan Virgin.
Como Reina deste suelo	As queen of this land
mi corazón te reclama.	my heart claims you.
A tí, Virgencita linda,	You, pretty little Virgin,
a tí, Reina Soberana.	You, sovereign Queen.
Venistes a tierra Azteca,	You came to the land of Aztecs
venistes a consagrarla.	you came to consecrate it.
Desde el oriente al poniente,	from east, west, south, north,
de sur a norte te llaman.	they call out to you.
Como reina d'este suelo,	As Queen of this land
mi corazó te reclama.	my heart claims you,
A tí, Virgencita linda,	You, pretty little Virgin,
a tí Reina Soberana.	You, sovereign Queen.

Por tomar la posesión	For being claimed by
de una indita mexicana,	a little Mexican-Indian girl,
me México está orgulloso,	My Mexico is proud;
su corazón te regala.	and gives you her heart.
Como Reina d'este suelo,	As Queen of this land
mi corazón te reclama.	my heart claims you,
A tí, Virgencita linda,	You, pretty little Virgin,
a tí reina Soberana.	You, sovereign Queen.

The words, *Buenos Días*, *Blanca Paloma* (good morning, white dove) is a convention found in other *alabados*. One of the ways of identifying folk poetry is by its use of what folklorists call conventions and formulas. Certain phrases and word groups appear over and over in folk poetry and are used consciously and unconsciously by the folk poet as a frame for building his poetry. These borrowed phrases and word groups appear over and over; they are the communal thread that ties the folk poet to his tradition.

Religious legends (*leyendas*) are also very common in Mexican folk traditions. The most famous religious legend in Mexico is the legend of the appearance of the Virgin of Guadalupe to Juan Diego. The following version of this legend was told by Señora Amelia Nava to Mrs. Joy Hintz in Tiffin, Ohio, in 1974.

> One morning when Juan Diego was about to cross a hill, he heard divine music. All of a sudden in a cloud he saw a beautiful lady who told Juan that she wished to have a church built in a special site. When Juan arrived in town, he spoke to the Bishop about the miracle. (apparition), but the Bishop refused to believe him. He wanted more proof. Juan himself did not believe at first. When the Virgen told him she wanted to meet him again at the same time, Juan took another path to town. He was in a hurry to see the bishop about his dying uncle. Our Lady appeared again to Juan and asked him why he didn't do as she had asked. He answered her by asking for forgiveness, and telling her he was in a hurry to get the bishop for his dying uncle. The Virgen told him not to worry because already his uncle was well. She also appeared to his uncle at the same moment she appeared to Juan. All this was a miracle, too.
>
> The following day while on his way to mass, the Virgen appeared again. Juan told her that the bishop wanted proof. The Virgen

> told Juan that close by some roses grew. He was to go cut some and take them to the Bishop. Juan had never seen flowers in that arid spot, but when he climbed the hill he was surprised to see roses growing in between rocks and prickly pears. Juan gathered the roses in his serape and took them to the bishop. Again Juan told the bishop what had happened and when he opened his serape all were surprised to see the Virgen's image painted on his serape. All fell on their knees before this miracle.
>
> Later on a chapel was built on this hill and on the altar was placed Juan Diego's serape. To the Mexican, this church, the Basilica de Guadalupe, is the most sacred in the Republic. It is visited every day of the year by sick people and the poor. People are brought there for healing, help and consolation. This is why we are proud to be Mexican. To the Mexican the Virgen is not only our patroness of Mexico, she is the Mother of God, Queen of Mexico. She has brown skin, and is the image of a Mexican woman. She did not run away from Juan, because she, too, is a Mexican. This is part of our lives because we believe in this miracle and the prayers. This story is passed on to Mexican-Americans, is in prayer books and made into movies.

Many legends about buried treasures are told as well as legends about witches (brujas) and the devil (diablo). Belief tales involving spells and curses are also very common although to date very few of these have been collected in Ohio.

The following memorate, or pre-legend (a personal narrative with supernatural elements) about a buried treasure was collected in Ohio in 1972 by Inez Cardozo-Freeman from the folk-poet, Arnulfo Castillo. Memorates attempt to validate superstitions, in this instance the belief that the spirits of the dead return.

> I'm going to tell a story which they say is incredible, but it is true.
>
> In 1930 I was still a child of five years, very small but very lively. It happened that my father was invited by some friends who greatly esteemed him, to come and live on their ranch, called Cerro Blanco. It was a very pretty ranch, hidden in the mountains. And as these people had always esteemed by father, with great pleasure my father accepted the offer of those good friends, and we moved to the Rancho del Cerro Blanco. I found myself surrounded by many little friends and every day we would go out together to care for the animals. Once we were in the mountains

we played peacefully, all running together until the day ended. As the saying goes, "Everyone is happy in his own paradise."

And so, 1930 passed and 1931 began and as always the men of agriculture began to prepare their soil to plant the seed. But the earth remained prepared because the time came to plant the seed and not a drop of water fell from the sky in the whole district. And all the people began to become sad because in these places, if God doesn't send the rain, the people can't live, and so a great calamity began.

They drained the springs that flowed in the mountains, and the cattle began to get sick from thirst and for lack of pasture because everything was dry. But saddest of all were those small cattle ranchers who watched their cattle die of thirst and hunger. And the day arrived when there wasn't water, not even for the people, let alone the animals, because the fathers of the family had to go search for water ten or fifteen miles away and they had to bring it back on their shoulders because where the beasts fell they never got up.

Everywhere the same clamor was heard. One day in July of this same year, an uncle of mine visited us, Jesús Castillo, brother of my father, and he, like everyone else, complained about the calamity, at last asked my father to help him with something so he could continue living. But my father was in the same situation. All he said was, "Brother of my heart, we're all in the same trouble. We cannot help you." And so Jesús continued complaining.

After a long while, a neighbor of ours, whose name was Pimenio Figueroa, arrived, and my uncle, on seeing him, became happy and greeted him and they began to talk about their poverty. And that led them to start talking about hidden treasures. Then my uncle said to Pimenio, "You are suffering hunger and you are so close to the treasure of the Jiro. If I lived here, I would have already gone to ask the Jiro for money."

And Pimenio replied, "No, Jesús, I don't quarrel with the dead because they are things from the other world and the dead should be left in peace. And think about who you are going to face. It is the Jiro. Around here, whenever we hear anyone talk about the Jiro, it makes our skin crawl because those who have seen him pass in the night never have the nerve to meet the Jiro again. That's how it is."

And my uncle replied, "Well, I don't believe a man can be so afraid, least of all you, Pimenio, who serve as a gunman for

Guadalupe Villanueva. You have always walked among the bullets but yet you are afraid of a Jiro that is already dead."

Pimenio said, "It's not because I'm so afraid, it's only because he is a spirit and nobody has been able to fight against him."

My uncle Jesús replied, "Well look, Pimenio, I've heard you are a brave man and today I'm hearing the proof and I'm your friend and have never been a killer"

And these words hurt Pimenio very much and Pimenio replied to my uncle, "Well look Jesús, nobody's going to scare me. Let's get the job done."

Then Pimenio said to my father, "You're the witness, Valente, if we don't return no one is to blame. Everything is for the vision of money." And Pimenio continued talking, "Think well about it, Jesús, before it's too late."

My uncle replied, "Look, Pimenio, you think I'm going to think when I need money? The trick is to get it wherever you find it. I've made up my mind." And they didn't say anything more to each other.

Then Pimenio went out of the house and got a bottle of wine and my father and my uncle and Pimenio began to drink it. They finished this bottle and brought another and continued drinking. But now it was getting dark and Pimenio said to my uncle, "All right, Jesús, night has come. Now is the time when the Jiro comes out and wanders up and down the roads. We should approach his place with care so the Jiro won't come looking for us here. If you really want to go, follow me."

My uncle replied, "Let me bring my rope to tie myself to you in case I become afraid and you won't leave me alone."

Pimenio replied, "Don't worry, I won't leave you."

And they went to the store and each bought a bottle of wine and left for the mountains, the place everyone there knew by a name that is very strange. It is called "The Canyon of Hell," in just thinking about the name, no one wanted to pass there, especially at night.

But Pimenio and Jesús Castillo had wanted to spend a night in the company of the Jiro, who according to the legend, fought with many when he was alive as well as when he was dead because those who saw him when he was alive said he was a terrible bandit and he buried a great teasure, but it was stained with blood. Also they know that he buried the money with dead men and for this reason no one could get it. They also said that when they took him prisoner, they cut off his head and tied him to the saddle of his own horse, and they let the reins of the horse loose so the horse dragged him until he was finished in pieces. For this reason, those who had had the luck of running into this Jiro were left horrified with fear.

It was close to midnight when Jesús and Pimenio arrived at the Canyon of Hell where they knew the fabulous treasure was, and close to this treasure they found a capuda encina, a huge live oak, which made the place more somber. Pimenio and Jesus went and sat at the foot of the trunk of the encino because it was said that this was the place where the Jiro shaded himself from the sun.

Once they were seated together at the trunk of the encino, Jesús said to Pimenio, "Well, now is the time to tie ourselves so that if you run you have to drag me with you."

And they continued drinking the wine which they had brought, when suddenly, there above them in the canyon they began to hear the bleating of a goat that at the same time came leaping down from rock to rock until it came to where they were seated. It was threatening to butt them and Pimenio and Jesús were paralyzed in that moment. And then it left and they heard again blows from above. But what most tormented them was that all around them the sound of the rattling of chains never ceased. And immediately they heard another loud bellow, but now it was a bull that came after them and threatened to trample them both. Pimenio and Jesús were nearly dead with fear. At last the bull backed away from them but they couldn't get up and the third (thing that happened) was the worst.

Then they began to hear the rattling of the chains as though what was coming was going to jump on them. It was the Jiro that rattled the chains that they had tied him with so he wouldn't get away when they took him prisoner. And he came up between them and then he placed a hand on each of them, and with this they were so frightened that they couldn't ask him for the money. And as they couldn't ask him for the money, well, he left them in peace and that terrible noise ceased.

But Pimenio and Jesús had become dumb with terror and couldn't talk to each other. All Pimenio (and Jesús) could do was to get loose from the rope and cling to each other and get away from that terrifying place, and they went back to the ranch.

> But never again did they want to go back to present themselves to the Jiro, nor were they tempted by money that belonged to the dead.
>
> All they did was tell, step by step, about the fright they had had. And my uncle, who wanted money so much, well, he had to go back again to his home with empty hands and the hope that it would rain so he could plant his crops and earn his bread. by the sweat of his brow. But I, who never forgot not one episode, write this now. Although it is incredible, it is true.

As well as being a fine story teller, Arnulfo Castillo is a composer of Mexican *corridos*. The *corrido* (ballad) tells a story. Sung to guitar accompaniment, it uses stock phrases, repetitions and colloquial language. There is almost always a formulaic opening and leave-taking, with the opening lines often giving dates and place. The leave-taking is called the *despedida* (farewell) and is one of its outstanding characteristics. The parent of the Mexican *corrido* is the Spanish *romance* which flowered in Spain during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The subject matter of the *corrido* often reveals what the people's concerns are. More often than not the stories which are sung spring from true incidents. *Corridos* sing of heroes, outlaws, injustices, tragedies, feuds; everything of interest to the people is worthy of being put into *corrido* form. The *corrido* continued to be a very vital tradition today.

The following *corrido*, Charro Jiro Afamado, was inspired by the story Señor Castillo told about buried treasure in the Cerro Blanco.

CORRIDO DE CHARRO JIRO AFAMADO

Voy a cantar esta historia	I'm going to sing this story
Del Charro Jiro Afamado,	Of the famous Charro Jiro
Que tanta guerro les dio	Who made so much war
A los ricos hacendados.	With the rich *hacendados*.

Era un hombre bandolero
Que de día vivía ocultuado,
Pero en la noche salía
A ver los atesorados.

He was a robber
Who hid during the day,
But in the night he went out
To visit the hoarders.

No robaba gallinero
No se robaba el ganado.
El ocupaba su tiempo
En dinero fabricado.

He didn't rob the hen house
Nor did he steal the cattle.
He spent his time
With those who had money.

Todos los ricos decían
Que era un hombre sangrinario.
Siempre que caíba en una hacienda
Dejaba un rico colgado.

All the rich men said
He was a blood thirsty man.
Whenever he attacked a hacienda
He left a rich man hanging.

Nadie supo donde vino
Ni donde era originario.
Lo único que so decirlès
Allí murió en Guanajuato.

No one knew where he came from,
Nor where he had been born;
All they said was
He died in Guanajuato.

Murió cerca del Ojo de Agua
Del Rancho del Cerro Blanco,
Bajo una sombra encina
Allí quedó degollado.

He died near the Ojo de Agua
Of the Rancho del Cerro Blanco,
Beneath a dark encina,
There he was beheaded.

El cuerpo del Charro Jiro
Ya una vez de degollado,
Lo amarron a la silla
De su ligero caballo.

The body of Charro Jiro
Once it was beheaded,
Was tied to the saddle
Of his swift horse.

Luego dieron rienda suelta
A su ligero caballo
Y el cuerpo del Charro Jiro
Se fue cayendo en pedazos.

Then they loosened the reins
Of his swift horse
And the body of Charro Jiro
Went crashing into pieces.

Esta historia sucedió
Al fin del siglo pasado;
Tanto le temía los ricos
Que no quierían recordarlo.

This story happened
At the end of the last century;
The rich feared him so much
They didn't want to remember him.

Dicen que es mucho el tesoro
Que el Jiro dejó enterado,
Y por causa deste tesoro
El Jiro vive penando.

They say there is much treasure
That the Jiro left buried,
And because of this treasure
The Jiro lives in punishment.

En el Tancho del Motivo
El Rancho del Cerro Blanco,
To'vía después del muerto
Los ha siguido espantando.

On the Rancho del Motivo,
The Rancho del Cerro Blanco,
After his death, still
He continues frightening them.

Los que han visto al Charro Jiro	Those who have seen the Charro Jiro
Los hallan agonizando	Are found dying in agony
Por no saber aguantar	Because they cannot endure
A sorpresa del espanto	The confusion of the horror.

Aunque saben que es un alma	Although they know it is the soul
De un ser que vive penando,	Of a being living in punishment,
Ni el vino les ha servido	Not even wine has helped
Pa' cortarles lo asustado.	To take away their fright.

Adiós, Rancho del Motivo,	Goodbye, Rancho del Motivo,
Adiós, bello Cerro Blanco,	Goodbye, pretty Cerro Blanco,
Donde el Jiro se paseaba	Where the Jiro used to go
Ya después de degollado.	After he was beheaded.

Ya me voy, ya me despido,	Now I go, now I take my leave,
Despensen lo mal trovado.	Forgive this bad composition.
Ya les canté este corrido	Now I have sung you this corrido
Del Charro Jiro Afamado.	Of the famous Charro Jiro

Some riddles (adivinanzas) have been collected from Mexican people in Ohio. Although much is lost through translation, the following are a few of the riddles collected.

Riddle	Adivinanza
I went to the market	Fui el mercado
and bought something black;	y compré megrito;
I came home	Vine a la casa
and it became red. What is it?	y se puso coloradito ¿Qué es?
Answer: (charcoal)	Contesto: (el carbón)

(Collected from Candalario Yamino Almanza, Page 9.)

Riddle	Adivinanza
My father had money	Mi padre tenía un dinero
which he couldn't count;	que no lo podía contar;
My mother had a sheet	Mi madre tenía una sabana
which she couldn't fold	que no la pudo doblar.
What is it?	¿Qué es?
Answer: (The sky and stars)	Contesto: (El cielo y las estrellas)

(Collected from Señora Josefina Perez.)

Riddle	Adivinanza
Tap, tap, in the corners	Taca talaca
You on your tiptoe	por las rincones
and I on my heels,	Tú de puntitas
What is it?	y yo de talones. ¿Qué es?
Answer: (Broom)	Contesto: (Escoba)

(Collected from Señora Amelia Nava, Tiffin, Ohio)

Lullabies, canciones de cuna, are very much loved among Mexican people. Many of the lullabies are very brief. Some have particular sounds which have no literal meaning, but are only soothing sounds to put baby to sleep. A la ruru, a la roro, nana, and so on, are commonly found. The following canción de cuna was collected by Mrs. Joy Hintz from Señora Amelia Nava who learned it from her mother and now sings it to her children. Notice the religious motif.

Saint Anna, why is the baby crying?	Señora Santa Anna ¿Por qué llora el niño?
Because he has lost an apple.	Por una manzana que se le ha perdido.
Let's go to the orchard and cut two apples;	Vamos a la hyerta y cortaremos dos manzanas;
One for baby and the other for God.	Una para el niño y otra para Dios.

There is much more Mexican folklore awaiting the collector in Ohio.

All of the ethnic groups discussed to this point have strong food traditions, and this area of study requires specialized knowledge for full understanding of its significance. Food processing is an important aspect of folklife study and includes the whole spectrum of preparation and preservation techniques. Most of us are, to a certain degree, "folk cooks" having learned our techniques by word of mouth and customary example. Cooking has, of course, been gramatically affected by the technological and scientific advancements of the past half century and many traditions are a matter of memory rather than practice. Yet here too there is an interplay between popular culture and folk tradition. Such obvious favorites of mainstream culture as soda fountain concoctions (pop, soda, soda pop or tonic; frappe, milkshake, ice cream soda) and a certain elongated sandwich (po'boy, grinder, hoagie or submarine) reflect the regionalisms of folk speech. The Bratwurst Festival in Bucyrus is largely the product of Chamber of Commerce activity, but it is built around a traditional food long a favorite in the predominately German community. And prepackaged foods have given rise to their own genre of tales already mentioned in chapter seven.

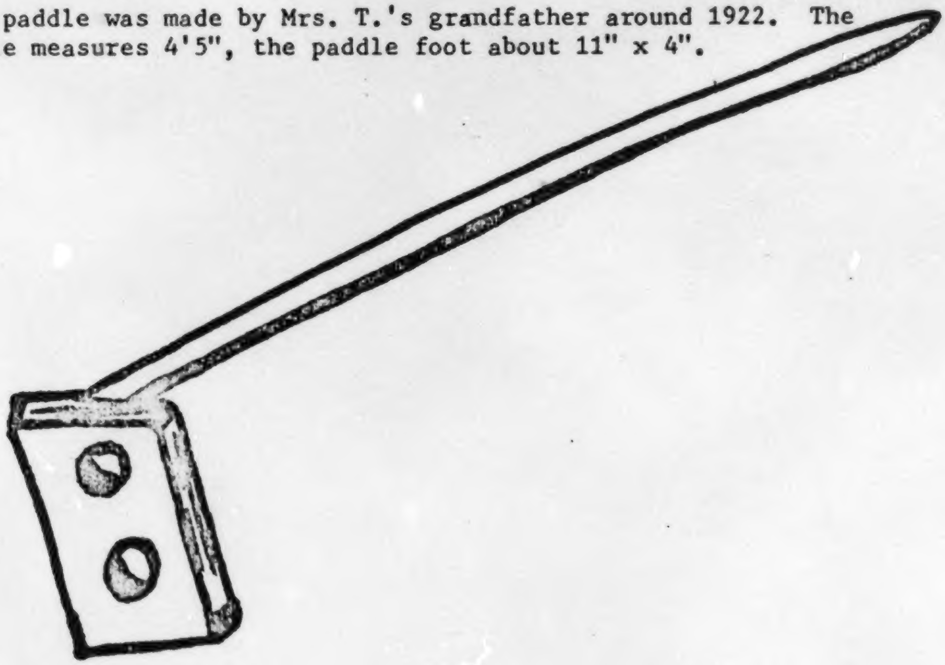
Belief is another important element in any study of cooking. Thus, Mrs. P. in Tiffin makes her sauerkraut only when the moon is on the wax, to insure that it will turn out right. When should you eat oysters? According to some, only in months with an "r" in the name. Much of folk medicine is bound up with eating habits---one should or should not eat certain things to insure results. Drinking sassafras tea in the Spring will purify the blood according to some. Eating cheese before bed will bring on nightmares; on the other hand a glass of warm milk will insure a good night's rest.

One part of the market of the Copper Kettle Works described in chapter VI is made up of people who still make apple butter. Many Ohio families make the delicacy, using the recipe (and sometimes the kettle) brought by their German ancestors. One resident of Ashland County near Loudenville recalls the paring bees of her childhood; the night before apple butter making, cutting, paring, slicing the apples. While a cook may add her own touch with the spices, most apple butter recipes are similar to the one used by the family in Waterville which is included in this chapter. The student researchers who conducted the survey of apple butter making asked the questions basic to any study of folk cooking. What were the ingredients and how were they prepared? Did the cooks have special names for the food? (The Pennsylvania-Dutch "schnitz" is often "snitz" in Ohio.) Where did they learn not only recipe, but the techniques of preparation? Did they regard these recipes and techniques as "old-fashioned" to be used only at special times, or are they basic to the whole approach to cooking? One of the apple butter informants, for example, still stores all her fresh produce by lining a hole in the ground with straw. She then covers the produce with straw and dirt.

Is the food prepared at a particular time of the day or month? Are the foods used only at special times---hot cross buns at Easter, for example? In Ohio, people of Pennsylvania German background will often celebrate the New Year with pork and sauerkraut, while those from New England prefer cornbread and beans. Are there special tools or utensils involved?

Below is a sketch of the apple butter paddle used to constantly stir the apple butter as it cooks in a copper kettle over an open fire. The end of the paddle must scrape the bottom at all times to prevent scorching. The holes permit greater circulation and also help break up the apples. The longer the handle, the farther away the stirrer can stand from the hot fire.

This paddle was made by Mrs. T.'s grandfather around 1922. The handle measures 4'5", the paddle foot about 11" x 4".



The copper kettle and wood stirrer are integral features of apple butter making. While the butter mold is largely an item of historic value, it is a significant item of folk art which, like other forms, can give an indication of the origin of the maker. The Pennsylvania Germans often used their favorite motifs of the tulip and other flowers and animals carved with vigorous and busy markings. Springerle molds, still used at Christmas time, are another example of carving at its best.

The study of apple butter making indicates the many elements of tradition, both material and oral, that are part of folk cooking. Physical forms and artifacts (utensils, special buildings for preparation and preservation), custom (festivals, religious holidays and feasts), belief (how and when certain foods should be prepared, the efficacy of some food for illnesses), and speech are all important elements of cooking tradition. Many ethnic groups still practice traditional methods. The Amish in northeastern Ohio still make cheese in the traditional manner. Greek, Italian, Serbian and Jewish people all have traditional ways of using food. Food ways, in fact, are perhaps among the hardiest elements of traditional life, retained long after other traditional practices have been given up.

The numerous items of folklore in this Chapter on ethnic groups are really a small sampling of the totality of folklore actively being passed on among the various nationalities in Ohio. People within the mainstream culture are not even aware of most of it. The ethnic folk traditions of all these groups cannot really be viewed as contributions to the mainstream, but rather stand on their own as evidence of the vitality of each culture and the plurality of American culture. By collecting and studying ethnic folklore and folklife, we can better understand the significance of all of these groups.

Chapter 9: Ethnic Folklore
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